

**THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW**

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SEVENTY-THIRD YEAR

1916

FOURTH YEAR OF NEW SERIES

**CALCUTTA:
THE CALCUTTA GENERAL PUBLISHING CO.**

Printed by the Calcutta General Printing Co., Ltd.,
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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MEADOWS TAYLOR HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND NOVELS.

BY T. O. D. DUNN.

“THE Story of my Life,” the autobiography of Colonel Meadows Taylor, completed in 1874 and published by his daughter in 1877, is one of those rare books that throw light not only upon a striking personality, but on the conditions of the life and work of Englishmen in India before and during the Mutiny.

The spare energy of men compelled to the routine of official labour in the East, seldom takes literary form ; and the student of English life in India will fail to discover that abundance of memoirs, biographies, letters, and the like, that lies to the hand of every investigator into any period of European history. Their rarity has given an almost undeserved value to what records remain of early English life in India ; but some works of peculiar interest have been produced, and amongst these “The Story of my Life” holds an undisputed place. This autobiography has a double value. In the first place it gives to the reader a progressive narrative of responsible political work done in India by an Englishman outside of the service of the Crown and of the Company : work carried on in intimate relationship with the people of the land, in full sympathy with their condition and in complete knowledge of their requirements. Probably no other record sets forth so

convincingly the success of those peculiar methods of government that are associated with "the good old days" when the country was passing from a period of crime and chaos to one of settled and orderly rule. In the second place this work traces the literary development of an author who must be justly described as the greatest English novelist whose themes are exclusively Indian. No other writer has depicted Indian life in its varied phases with greater detail or in range more extensive than the author of the *Confessions of a Thug*, *Tippu Sultan* and *Tara*; and no other has set himself the task of illustrating the three great modern periods of Indian history at intervals of a century up to and including the Mutiny.

Philip Meadows Taylor was born in Liverpool in 1808. He relates with undisguised satisfaction that he could claim descent from two ancient English families; but unfortunately this pride of pedigree had no financial support; and his youth passed without the advantages of a good school or university education. In 1824 his father became acquainted with a Bombay merchant named Baxter who held out flattering prospects of promotion in his Indian firm. An arrangement was made to admit the boy to this business; and in September of that year Meadows Taylor landed in Bombay where, to his future advantage, his mother's cousin, William Newnham, was Chief Secretary to the Government. During the voyage he had learned with dismay that the merchant Baxter of large promises was a small shopkeeper; but his relative came generously to his assistance, and through the agency of Sir Charles Metcalf, then resident at Hyderabad, he secured for him a commission in the army of the Nizam. He joined his new post immediately at Aurungabad; and in the next five years, at an age when most English boys are preparing for junior examinations, he became an enthusiastic student of three Indian vernaculars, an expert shot and an experienced officer in military and civil affairs.

“The Story of my Life” covers in its first part about thirteen years up to 1837, when Queen Victoria came to the throne of England. This is a convenient point of time for the reader’s memory ; and it marks a decisive epoch in the life of Meadows Taylor who, in 1837, set out on his famous journey to England by way of Arabia and Egypt, and on arrival achieved immediate recognition as the author of the *Confessions of a Thug*. The years preceding his early fame were full of interesting and useful work in the state of Hyderabad. From the beginning of his career he lived in closest touch with the people ; and became a diligent student of the Persian, Mahratti and Hindustani languages. He records with pride that he had learned to speak the latter tongue “like a gentleman”. He was of opinion that “it may be a little more difficult to acquire the idioms but it is well worth while. There are modes of address suitable to all ranks and classes, and often our people unintentionally insult a native gentleman by speaking to him as they would to their servants through ignorance of the proper form of address”. The knowledge here advocated was an undoubted means of gaining insight into the habits and customs of the people. Life at this period in a native state seems to have been of an agreeable kind, and intercourse between English and Indian gentlemen appears to have been unrestrained. Meadows Taylor speaks of a resort of the local gentry in Hyderabad to which he went by habit. “I was often asked to sit down with them”, he writes, “while their carpets were spread and their attendants brought hookahs”. It would have been interesting to hear some of the topics of conversation at these informal gatherings, and to have learned what the pre-Victorian substitute was for the modern “sympathy.” From the first he appears to have been peculiarly sensitive to the appeal of the East, and to have given a patient ear to the magician and the astrologer. He relates with enthusiasm how, owing to his knowledge of the Mahratti

tongue, he was able to hold converse with a Brahmin who cast his horoscope and asked him to sign the papers. Long after when his career was about to close, he records that every incident of the prophecy came true, that the aged Brahmin revisited him with the original papers he had signed, and recalled with triumph the accuracy of his forecast.

The state of the country in the early portion of the 19th century has been described time and again by economists and historians. There was plenty of personal risk and much scope for strength and initiative in the Hyderabad State. Meadows Taylor writes that his district was "much cut up by private estates whose owners or managers defied or evaded the orders of the Nizam's Executive Government, and would only obey their own masters some of whom were powerful nobles of Hyderabad who jealously resented any interference by the executive minister while their agents were well known protectors of thieves and robbers whose booty they shared". The country had not yet recovered from the anarchy following upon the dismemberment of the Mogul Empire; and as yet the influence of British authority was but lightly felt. Thuggee was at this time a flourishing enterprise; and in the investigation of this type of crime Meadows Taylor must be given the credit of having been the pioneer. In this early period of his service he anticipated the researches that were to establish the fame of Colonel Henry Sleeman. Mysterious murders had been perpetrated in his district; and as these pointed to some form of organisation, he convinced the Resident of the need for careful investigation. Permission for his continuance in a post that would have made this possible, was refused; and he records with a certain regret that, had he been allowed to remain, he would have been the first to disclose the horrible crime of Thuggee to the world. He was destined to give to this weird form of criminality a lasting literary monument, and

to veil its horrors in a romance of unexampled interest and fascination.

His system of conducting administration was that upon which the prestige of British authority and justice has been established. Space forbids the extensive illustration of his methods, but his treatment of the flour-sellers of Tuljapur (the place of Sivaji's immortal murder of Afzool Khan) deserves a full report. Of this incident he writes: "My tent was beset by hundreds of pilgrims and travellers, crying loudly for justice against the flour-sellers, who not only gave short weight in flour, but adulterated it so distressingly with sand, that the cakes made of it were uneatable, and had to be thrown away. I sent for the civil officer of the town, who declared the flour-sellers to be incorrigible, and that the complaint was perfectly true; so I determined to take my own course.

That evening I told some reliable men of my escort to go quietly into the bazars, and each buy flour at a separate shop, being careful to note whose shop it was. The flour was brought to me. I tested every sample, and found it full of sand as I passed it under my teeth. I then desired that all the persons named in my list should be sent to me, with their baskets of flour, their weights and scales. Shortly afterwards they arrived, evidently suspecting nothing, and were placed in a row, seated on the grass before my tent.

'Now,' said I, gravely, 'each of you are to weigh out a seer (two pounds) of your flour,' which was done.

'Is it for the pilgrims?' asked one.

'No,' said I, quietly, though I had much difficulty to keep my countenance. 'You must eat it yourselves.'

They saw that I was in earnest, and offered to pay any fine I imposed.

'Not so,' I returned; 'you have made many eat your flour, why should you object to eat it yourselves?'

They were horribly frightened; and, amid the jeers and screams of laughter of the by-standers, some of them

actually began to eat, sputtering out the half-moistened flour, which could be heard crunching between their teeth. At last some of them flung themselves on their faces, abjectly beseeching pardon.

‘Swear,’ I cried, ‘swear by the holy mother in yonder temple, that you will not fill the mouths of her worshippers with dirt. You have brought this on yourselves, and there is not a man in all the country who will not laugh at the *bunnias* (flour-sellers) who could not eat their own flour because it broke their teeth.’

So this episode terminated, and I heard no more complaints of bad flour.”

Meadows Taylor found the purely military life congenial enough ; but it is easy to see in the events of his life story how well he was fitted for civil administration. His relations with his soldiers were most cordial ; and in the minor military operations carried on in the state of Hyderabad he earned reputation and respect. In 1836, after twelve years’ service, he was promoted to the rank of captain. Immediately before his promotion he had much domestic trouble. His wife and children fell ill. His own health became undermined by fever from which relief was sought in the Neilgherry Hills. At Ootacamund he became worse and was ordered to England by the doctors. At this time no furlough would have been possible, had not Lord William Bentinck, then living in Coonoor, personally intervened on his behalf and secured for him a three years’ holiday. In the society of the Imperial Government then resident in the Neilgherries, he had the good fortune to meet some of the men who were shaping India’s destiny. His duty confined him to a comparatively unimportant political sphere, and he never once visited Calcutta or Bengal. But here in the hills he met Macaulay, at that time the guest of the Governor-General, and he has left a pleasing account of the impression created

by the great historian. "His conversation I found intensely fascinating. His seemingly boundless knowledge of life, his acquaintance with history and philosophy, his fiery zeal in argument and his calm eloquence in oratory, opened to me new subjects of thought for future study." It is interesting also to know his opinion of the work of Lord William Bentinck who at this time quitted India. The latter had shown him much consideration. This fact combined with his own constant desire for progress and reform in the Indian administration, compelled his sincere praise of the great statesman. He writes with earnestness: "I feel I must add my tribute to his integrity of purpose, liberality of action and the commencement of that system of progress which is now bearing ample fruit."

In 1837 Captain Meadows Taylor proceeded to England on a three years' holiday. The voyage home is probably one of the most interesting events of his autobiography. The record of this journey might have been written nearly two hundred years earlier in the pages of Bernier or Manucci; and would have delighted the heart of Richard Burton. To the modern traveller by luxurious train and palatial steamer, it is amusing to read of an English official arriving in Bombay with his wife and pitching his tents on the Esplanade. The only vessel about to start for Europe was full; and so without hesitation Meadows Taylor took his passage on board a large Arab *buggalow* bound for Mocha. His fellow passenger was an Armenian who spoke Arabic and could act as interpreter. His Indian servants appear to have been willing to accompany him, and with a supply of liquor and live-stock, the party set sail. The voyage was one of easy stages. The vessel skirted the Arabian coast, calling in for provisions and receiving occasional visits from the local Sheikhs. The first serious adventure came at Aden which, unknown to the travellers, was about to be attacked by the English.

Meadows Taylor landed with his Arab captain and was entertained by the Sheikh ; but the latter had determined to have his English visitor seized and held to ransom. On hearing that he was a soldier in the Nizam's service and on good terms with certain Arab officials in Hyderabad, he reluctantly allowed him to leave the town. At Mocha Meadows Taylor transferred to another Arab vessel and proceeded to Jeddah. Here he had arranged to leave his wife in the care of the mother of the ship's captain ; and with the latter he intended to journey to Mecca. "No one will recognize you", said the captain ; "you are browner than I am, and I will lend you clothes : we shall do the journey in the night." Unfortunately the scheme got abroad, and the consul at Jeddah had to refuse permission to the travellers to proceed.

Time seems to have been the least consideration in this adventurous journey towards Europe ; and for a whole month the Taylors lived on board an English ship in Jeddah harbour. They chartered another *buggalow* sailing for Suez, and arranged to land at Tor in order to visit Mount Sinai and Jerusalem at Easter. It was the Haj ; and on rising in the morning, after reserving his vessel for what he believed his exclusive use, Meadows Taylor found the deck swarming with pilgrims. For once his love of orientals failed him, and he writes with some heat : "men and women constantly intruded into our cabin, a frightful crowd, the effluvia and vermin from which were sickening and quite impossible to describe : added to this we suffered abuse for being infidels." At Yembo, the port of Medina, relief came. The local Pasha courteously provided a fresh boat as far as Tor ; and the travellers set sail with a handsome present of dates, Turkish sweetmeats and new live-stock. They sailed at leisure between the reefs and the mainland, and anchored at night, enjoying the magnificent variety of colour in the shallows, deepest

violet and purple blue to the most brilliant turquoise, emerald green and red. At Tor, after many pipes and much coffee with the local Sheikh, it was found impossible to proceed to Palestine without an escort and without a *firman* from the Sultan. The only alternative course was to cross over to Kosseir and to take the route through Egypt. At this point the journey took a completely new turn. The Red Sea vessels were abandoned for camels and donkeys; and the party set out along the ancient beaten track of Egyptian, Greek and Roman traders who through successive ages had carried on a tedious commerce between East and West. Between Kosseir and Keneh, before getting sight of the green cultivation of Egypt, Meadows Taylor began to discover that his novel methods of travel were perhaps not the wisest for a convalescent Indian official. The medical treatment of a camel-camp was of the crudest type. Of one day's experience he writes: "I had never left my camel and towards evening became very tired. I lay down on some warm sand near our tents and gradually stiffened to the great alarm of my wife; but my servant and the camel-men said they would soon cure me. I was turned on my face and my back rubbed with castor oil well heated. By this time some large cakes of *Dhoura* meal had been prepared and partly baked, and these smeared with oil were bound on my back, the whole length of the spine, and partially covering my ribs. They were almost too hot to bear, but I obeyed orders, and allowed myself to be swathed up like a mummy. Next morning to my great delight I had neither pain nor ache: the remedy, rough though it was, had been effectual." At Keneh the English agent took the travellers in hand; and although a Copt and unable to speak any European language save a little Italian, he seems to have entertained his visitors well. Two dishes in particular have been recorded—one of quails fried in vine-leaves and another of long cucumbers stuffed with delicately flavoured mince-meat.

The journey continued by boat with ample leisure past Thebes and Philae. The travellers lingered amid the ruins of ancient Egypt, taking such rough comfort as they could secure and dwelling for some days in the Memnonian Palace. One of the tombs of the Kings was opened for them, and an amount of curious loot secured. For turquoise necklaces and scarabs found on this occasion, the British Museum paid Meadows Taylor fifty pounds on his arrival in London. At Cairo he was attacked by severe Ophthalmia and nearly lost his sight ; but an English physician treated him with success, and the travellers were able to reach Alexandria where they shipped on board a Messagerie steamer and went to Malta touching at Smyrna and Crete. On departure from Malta the party sailed along the Italian coast by way of Naples and Leghorn and ultimately reached Marseilles on the 3rd of July, 1838. The whole journey covered about nine months, and is an amazing record of pluck, enthusiasm and endurance. It has to be remembered that when the journey was begun, Meadows Taylor had just recovered from severe illness in India, that his wife accompanied him, and that she herself had but recently suffered from Malaria and the death of her two children.

The visit to England was of value in so far as it laid the foundation of his literary career and brought him into public notice. He was fortunate in meeting some of the outstanding people of that time. The Duke of Wellington received him kindly. Prince Louis Napoleon, whom he met at the house of Lady Blessington, planned to visit India in his company ; and Queen Victoria, whose interest in the *Confessions of a Thug* had been aroused by Bentley, the court printer, received the author with every mark of favour. He was appointed special correspondent to the *Times*, and continued his connection with this paper long after his return to India. By February of the year 1840 he rejoined his post in Hyderabad ; and for about ten

years from this date he was engaged in the anxious work of controlling affairs in Shorapur.

His narrative of events in this small principality within the Nizam's dominions reads like the true romance it is. A lascivious Ranee with all the concomitants of a debased and petty court ; the Rajah, a minor, of uncertain claims, parasites, mercenaries, warlike tribes and financial chaos make up the picture. Meadows Taylor produced some order out of this romantic confusion ; and to the dismay of the Shorapur people, left in order to take over charge of one of the five Berar districts ceded to the Nizam. At this time his life had little leisure, but his experiences were of immense value : as he himself writes, "I could not go on with literary work, as, at the day's close, my brain was generally wearied out. My work was seldom less than twelve hours a day with little variation, so to write was impossible ; but I felt I was gaining more and more real knowledge of native life and character, under circumstances that fall to the lot of very few Englishmen, and that, hereafter if life were spared, I might turn my experience to good account." In his new charge he worked strenuously up to the outbreak of the Mutiny, and then received a prompt order of transfer from the Resident as follows: "Go to Berar directly and hold on by your eyelids. I have no troops to give you, and you must do the best you can." Here, in a district 250 miles long and with a population of two millions, he managed to control whatever forces tended towards anarchy. Berar was a barrier between upper India and the dominions of the Nizam, and so its integrity was of the first importance. In this critical position the popularity of Meadows Taylor went for half the battle. His knowledge of Mahratti and his insight into Indian life and character were as useful as regiments of troops. On the quelling of the Mutiny his work was handsomely recognized ; and he was given the post of commissioner of Shorapur, his old district, which the urgency of the rebellion

had compelled him to leave. Here confusion had come with the Mutiny. The youthful Rajah whom in his childhood Meadows Taylor had tried hard to guide aright, had joined the mutineers. He was captured and under sentence of banishment, when he died by his own hand. In 1860, after waiting for the settlement of affairs in Shorapur, Meadows Taylor was compelled, by illness, to leave India. Continued weakness made his resignation imperative, and from this date his life of retirement in Europe was devoted to literature.

Twice only in his long career was Meadows Taylor able to begin writing: during his early furlough of three years ending in 1840, and during his enforced retirement after 1860. Literary work was to him a mere pastime; and seldom to any author has an established reputation come with so little effort. But his whole career in India was a preparation for the type of literary work in which he was destined to excel; and he came finally to the illustration of Indian life, character and history with an unrivalled and intimate knowledge of his subject. In 1837, after a sharp attack of fever, he occupied his convalescence by writing a few chapters of the *Confessions of a Thug*. The subject was one that had always fascinated him. He had been one of the pioneers in the investigation of Thuggee; and during the period of Colonel Sleeman's special duty, he had assisted in compiling reports from various informers. No better subject could have been chosen than this extraordinary form of crime. Thuggee had been brought to the notice of the whole civilized world, which by the year 1832 was roused to horrified curiosity by Colonel Sleeman's disclosures. To write on this subject, therefore, was to provide an amount of first hand material that any publisher would have been quick to exploit. Begun as if by accident, the book grew rapidly. The author's friends who read the manuscript as it progressed, called for more. The whole work was taken on the famous voyage to England; and

when the Taylors had completed their adventurous journey as far as Malta, the book was handed over to a relative to avoid the delay of quarantine. The latter gave the manuscript to Bentley, the publisher, who had some connection with the court. The work was shown to Queen Victoria who became intensely interested in the tale, and had sent to her the proof sheets as they were revised. This was a fortunate start for any author ; and Meadows Taylor soon found himself drawn into a vigorous current of literary activity. In 1839 he writes "The Confessions had been received with much greater interest and success than I had ever ventured to hope for. It was curious to hear people wondering over the book and discussing it. Evidently the subject was a new sensation to the public. I was asked to write another book which should take the place of a historical novel, and become the forerunner of a series of such Indian works and Tippu Sultan was chosen as the subject." Here then was the origin of Meadows Taylor's literary career. A startling journalistic success, based upon the sensationalism of Thuggee, led to various offers from publishers and the projection of a historical novel. This work, along with the Confessions, was completed before the author returned to India on the termination of his first furlough.

The circumstances in which the Confessions were produced made a certain "artlessness" almost inevitable. The work reads rather as a fascinating narrative of events directly observed than as a skilfully constructed tale. Indeed the book can scarcely be classed amongst works of fiction, as the main events described were all actual facts. What the imagination of the author supplied, served merely as a connecting link to each essential episode. Ameer Ali, the central figure of the story, was one of the Thug informers whom Meadows Taylor had to interrogate in the Nizam's territory. He had been concerned directly in the murder of seven hundred and nineteen people ; and in the investigation

of Thuggee, his confessions were amongst the most sensational of all the disclosures made. To describe the activity of a character like this over a period of years was, in the nature of the case, to produce a work of progressive and arresting interest ; and so the *Confessions of a Thug* owes its success to the skilful and truthful presentation of an absorbing subject. The central figure moves relentlessly from one hideous scene of bloodshed to another ; and the horror of it all is intensified by his extraordinarily human features. Ameer Ali is no ghoul or demon begotten of Eastern romance, no such figure as Vathek provides, but a man moved by like passions with ourselves—a lover, a father and at times something of a sentimentalist. He revelled in the pageantry of war and recognized the romance of the freebooter's age in which he lived. But when it came to killing, his spirit was as relentless as steel. The naiveté of his attitude to crime cannot be better illustrated than in his admission that he had killed seven hundred and nineteen people, but that had he not been in prison twelve years, the number would have been a thousand. It would be useless to reflect deplorably upon depravity of this kind. The man comes within no moral catalogue. In the exercise of his trade, he is simply non-moral, and makes capital stuff for the weaving of the fabric of romance. There is little in the *Confessions* that does not bear strictly upon the central figure. Ameer Ali holds the writer and the reader from start to finish : and, whatever digressions are allowed from the main theme, are strictly subordinated to the scheme of the story. The continuous record of murder is relieved by the stirring account of the Pindaree raids when Chetoo, the freebooter, was joined by the Thug. Here the author reveals for the first time that love of the picturesque in eastern military life that found completer illustration in his later novels.

The *Confessions* established no literary tradition. In his second work, *Tippu Sultan*, produced in 1840 immediately

after the appearance of the first, Meadows Taylor had a different subject and a different method. In this venture he became a conscious literary artist working out a scheme suggested to him by his publisher : he was no longer the absorbed recorder of events that had come within his own observation. The career of Tippu Sultan had roused much interest in England ; and the chief campaigns of the English against Mysore were still within living memory. Meadows Taylor took up the task of weaving a romance round this historical material, and at once got into touch with those who could give him first-hand information. He was granted an interview with the Duke of Wellington who, when in India, had official relations with the family of Tippu. How interesting in the autobiography is the record of his conversation with the great soldier : “ His memory was perfectly clear, and he had forgotten nothing in regard to his own part in the first Mahratta war. He told me the Confessions had fairly taken him back to India.” The events described in the new novel, which was rapidly completed, were within living memory. The action of the story lies between the year 1782 and 1799 : that is the period of the second, third and fourth Mysore wars when Tippu, the successor of Hyder Ali, fought against the British and was overthrown during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Wellesley. The main historical events mentioned in the novel are as follows :—

- (1) The death of Hyder Ali in 1782 and the operations of the Bombay army upon the Western portion of Tippu’s dominions.
- (2) The peace of 1784 ending the second Mysore war.
- (3) The operations of Tippu in 1788-89 against the Hindus of Malabar.
- (4) The negotiations between the court of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad with a view to union against the English, and the Nizam’s final refusal to assist Tippu.

- (5) The campaign of Tippu against Travancore.
- (6) The expedition of Lord Cornwallis ; the fall of Bangalore and Seringapatam ending the third Mysore war (1790-92).
- (7) Lord Wellesley's operations against Mysore ; the fall of Seringapatam and Tippu's death in 1799.

* The last two military campaigns have not been exhaustively described by Meadows Taylor. As he himself said, they were of too recent a date to lend themselves to imaginative treatment. Some of the earlier events in the career of Tippu, notably the attack upon Travancore, have called forth the author's best descriptive efforts ; but his representation of these events is not so much historical as imaginative, presenting to his English readers the pomp and magnificence of the princes of southern India, and the extravagant disorder of their military operations. Most of the important historical events of the period have been embodied in the novel, but they are a mere background against which the characters move in the romantic setting created by the varied and unsettled life of their time. At no period in the history of India was the country more restless. Central government had disappeared ; and amid the general anarchy, a few temporarily powerful princelings were wrangling for recognition and sovereignty. Not only so, but India had become the eastern battle ground of two mighty European nations who, until the supremacy of one of them had been determined, increased the confusion resulting from the decay of the Mogul Empire. French influence had been vigorously revived with Napoleon's initial successes in Egypt ; and the union of the southern Indian princes with France might have involved the expulsion of the British from India. That the latter achieved decisive success, was due to the dazzling victory of Nelson at the battle of the Nile, and to the firm diplomacy of Lord Wellesley. At this time India was

passing through her last terrible phase of political anarchy and social misery, before the peace of British rule came upon her like a benediction. It was a period the record of which gave the fullest possibilities to the novelist : such a period as Sir Walter Scott, or Alexander Dumas, would have loved to re-create for the modern world.

In his presentation of the history and life of Mysore, the method of Meadows Taylor resembles that of those greater masters. Amid events already historical, and needing little of the novelist's art to increase their attraction for the reader, his characters have been created and made to illustrate the life and manners of their age. The story has been given the sustained interest of a double romance through which are connected the lives of English and Indian men and women. But the real interest of the novel lies, not in the development of its plot, but in the vivid portrayal of certain types. The warlike nature of the age is skilfully presented in the characters of Abdul Rahman Khan and the youthful Kasim Ali, capable soldiers of fortune and with something of the chivalry of medieval knighthood. Peculation, oppression and low cunning are impersonated in Jaffar. Ameena and the intriguing ladies of the Khan's harem provide that atmosphere of romance indispensable to the sustained interest of a novel. The whole moving life of the Indian road-way, where high and low jostle in company, is admirably portrayed. We hear the gossip of the cook, the whispered confidences of the waiting-women, and all the wrangle of the camp. The disturbed state of the country is illustrated by the description of the Mahratta raid when blazing homes and murdered villagers were encountered in the march of the Khan from Hyderabad to Mysore. While the hero of the tale may be Kasim Ali, the young Patel, the sinister figure of Tippu towers above all others and compels our interest and curiosity. There is no need to question the accuracy of the novelist's presentation of this character. History has nothing worthy to record of "the

Tiger of Mysore ;” and in addition to the historical fact, there was the personal evidence of the Duke of Wellington to assist the author in securing a truthful portrait. He has been shown to the reader in court and in camp, and in his private and public life. There is nothing to admire in him save a certain quality of physical courage and an abundance of animal vigour. These qualities appealed to the many soldiers of fortune who thronged his court ; but their leader’s appalling cruelty and superstition revolted the best of these men who found Tippu a miserable creature in the final crisis of his fortunes. But his court and his state were gorgeous, and have been re-created in the pages of the novelist with a wealth of extravagant detail. There are parts of the story that move like a pageant to the sound of military trumpets, and everywhere there is profusion of colour.

The production of two successful novels during a period of furlough and recreation was enough to justify some respite. On his return to India the constant strain of official duty before and after the Mutiny made literary work impossible ; and not until 1860 was Meadows Taylor able to continue those imaginative studies of Indian history that began with Tippu Sultan. The series foreshadowed by this work included the following novels :—

- (1) **Tara** : this was published in 1863. It describes the development of the power of the Mahrattas and the blow struck by them against the Muhammadans in 1657.
- (2) **Ralph Darnell** : this was published in 1865. Its subject is the rise of the British power in India and the victory of Plassey in 1757.
- (3) **Seeta** : this was published in 1872. It described the events of the Mutiny in 1857.

These works illustrate the great modern periods of Indian history at exact intervals of one hundred years. Of the three **Tara** was the most ambitious, and its success

was considerable. One other novel, "A Noble Queen," with Chand Bibi as heroine, was produced in 1875. If his many contributions to the *Times* on political subjects be excluded, a brief history of India completes the list of his literary works. This was written in order to provide for the student and the general reader a single narrative of the main events of Indian history in an accessible form. The work was published in 1871 after two years of patient study and research.

The circumstances in which *Tara* was written are full of interest. Towards the close of the year 1861 Meadows Taylor's leave in England had expired; but, as his health had failed to improve, he was compelled most reluctantly to resign his service. This was an unexpected hardship for one whose interests were centred in the people of India, and it was aggravated by the fact that his mental energy appeared to be seriously impaired. Any attempt to write had the most exhausting effect, and he was compelled to set aside his many early plans for literary work. Fortunately this condition did not continue long. His physician permitted him to attempt to begin writing; and, in the experiment then allowed, *Tara* was begun and completed. In this connection the record of the autobiography is full of interesting details. Meadows Taylor writes: "The incidents and actions of the story had been planned for nearly twenty years; and I knew all the scenes and localities described, as I had the story in my mind during my visit to Bijapur and had noted the details accurately. My long residence in an entirely Native State, and my intimate acquaintance with the people, their manners, habits and social organisation, gave me opportunities which I think few Englishmen have ever enjoyed, of thoroughly understanding Indian life." The completion of the new novel was hastened by one of the author's friends who said that, as the plot was clearly in his mind, he should have it written out chapter by chapter. After

six hours unremitting work, a complete sketch of the whole tale was made, and the details were afterwards filled in. The author then writes : "After this, I felt sure of my object, and wrote confidently, but very slowly, for my brain had not yet regained its full strength ; but the occupation interested me, and was a source of infinite delight." The book was accepted by Blackwood and published in 1863. It was most favourably received. The leading journals were generous in their praise ; and the author, as he himself records, was delighted at the warmth of his reception after an absence of more than twenty years from the world of letters. *Tara* is the largest and most ambitious of all Meadows Taylor's works, and upon it his reputation as a novelist must rest. It is strange that a work of such design and elaborate finish should have been, as it were, the plaything of a period of convalescence. *The Confessions of a Thug* was begun after an attack of fever ; and *Tara*, the most comprehensive novel of Indian life ever written by an Englishman, was planned and completed while the author was recovering from a condition of health that had compelled him to resign his service in India.

The Deccan seems to have had a peculiar fascination for Meadows Taylor. At the close of his autobiography he stated that, when the story of his life was finished, he hoped to revert to the romantic and medieval period of Deccan history, and to write in illustration of it a novel the plot of which he had been considering. This work was done in "*A Noble Queen*" published in 1875, of which Chand Bibi was the heroine. In this, and in *Tara*, the illustration of Deccan history, long desired by the author, has been amply and brilliantly accomplished. The period of *Tara* was that of the middle of the seventeenth century when the Mahomedans of the Deccan weakened by their struggle with the Moguls of Delhi, had become exposed to the attack of the Mahrattas. The historical events described in the novel do not extend over

any lengthy period of time. The action of the story is concentrated within the year 1657 : when Ali Adil Shah was on the throne of Bijapur ; when intrigues between his nobles and the Mogul court had weakened his authority ; and when Sivaji had come forward as the acknowledged leader of the Mahratta Confederacy. With these events as a background, the novel provides a comprehensive and detailed picture of contemporary life. As the autobiography shows, Meadows Taylor had long pondered the theme of Tara, and the story has every sign of elaborate and careful planning. The action of the tale is developed almost as symmetrically as the plot of a drama, and falls naturally into four main divisions. A brief synopsis of each will show the scope of the novel and the extent of its illustration of the life of the time.

Section One.—The story opens with an intimate description of upper class Hindu life and introduces Tara, the heroine. The character of her parents, Vyas Shastri and his wife Anunda, are portrayed with sympathy and accuracy. Anunda stands forth as the ideal type of Hindu matron finding her Mahomedan counterpart later in the story. Tara's dedication to the goddess Kali ; the entrance of Gunga, the temple girl, with Moro Trimmul the priest ; and the arrival in the Shastri's home of Radha, the second wife whose previous connection with Sivaji had been kept secret by her brother Moro Trimmul, at once provide the nucleus of romantic interest and plot. The story is essentially one of Hindu life ; and, while other contrasted elements are introduced later, the central theme remains undisturbed. Had the author produced nothing more than the series of pictures contained in these first eight chapters, he would have earned his reputation as a sympathetic observer of the domestic and religious ritual of Hinduism.

Section Two.—The story now changes abruptly and the warlike note is struck for the first time. Golap Singh and

Pahar Singh represent the freebooters of the period, secure in their hill fortresses and acknowledging the right of the sword alone. In sharp contrast is the sleek and unscrupulous Lalla Tulsi Das. With stolen papers of value he had travelled from the Mogul court and found adventures little to his taste. Captured by Pahar Singh's men he at once became a valuable prize, as the papers he had stolen revealed treason at the court of Ali Adil Shah. Here the author shows great dramatic power and great breadth of outlook upon life. The writer who can describe the scene where Tulsi Das falls into the hands of Golap Singh and his men-at-arms, and later when he has to face Pahar Singh, the robber chief, captures at a stroke the confident interest of his readers. But these scenes are as yet only preliminary to the fuller development of the plot in the third and largest division of the novel.

Section Three.—Once more the story changes abruptly and introduces upper class Mahomedan life in Bijapur. Fazil, the son of Afzal Khan, and his sister Zyna are idealised types beautifully portrayed. With their step-mother, Lurlee Khanum, the counterpart of the Hindu Anunda, they have been made to represent in great accuracy of detail a Mahomedan household of wealth and dignity. So carefully has this been done that the interest of the Hindu family of the Shastri is for the time eclipsed, and the reader moves in a new world of Islamic romance. The whole political life of the time is described. The Vazier of Bijapur and Jehandur Beg represent the secret influence of the Mogul court in southern India. In this atmosphere of intrigue, for the first time in the tale both Hindu and Mahomedan characters are brought together. This has been accomplished with great skill in the famous scene in the temple. Through the capture of Tulsi Das, treasonable papers implicating the Vazier and Sivaji had been discovered by Pahar Singh, the robber chief. The latter, in the disguise of a Yogi, accompanied Tulsi Das to

a temple near Bijapur where they were met by the King and his secretary. This meeting was secretly witnessed by Fazil Khan and his Hindu friend Bulwunt Ray. The whole incident is of the very essence of romance, and recalls many a scene in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Here are grouped the representatives of every faction in the State: Pahar Singh, the independent freebooter, owning no allegiance; Tulsi Das, the trembling and avaricious scribe of the Mogul court; Ali Adil Shah, the chivalrous King of Bijapur; Fazil Khan, the faithful young Mussalman, watching from without and attended by his Hindu retainer Bulwunt Ray. The scene ends in a swift mingling of noble and base passions characteristic of the age. Pahar Singh's promise of allegiance to the young king who faced him boldly, contrasts strangely with his brutal treatment of the miserable Lalla whose murder was prevented only by the timely interference of the indignant Fazil Khan. The outcome of the discovery of the plot leads to the execution of Jehandur Beg, the enemy of Fazil and his father; to the king's public exposure of treason and to the declaration of war upon Sivaji whose daring spy, Maloosray, had been busy in the city, and whose attempt to foster the Mogul power in order to make himself supreme in Bijapur had been discovered in the papers stolen by Tulsi Das. At this stage the various threads of the narrative are skilfully drawn together; and from this point the Hindu and Mahomedan elements of the story are interfused.

Section Four.—The tale now returns to the original theme; and Tara is again shown in the service of the Temple of Tooljapur. The character of Moro Trimmul, who combined the functions of priest and political spy, is now more fully developed. He is the real villain of the story. In contrast with violent robbers like Pahar Singh who had at least some nobility of character, he appears in the most sinister light, devoid of truth and honour, false to his faith and a victim of the basest passions. The king's

declaration of war upon Sivaji had one terrible result, the sacking of Tooljapur and the desecration of the temple by the troops of Afzal Khan. The scene is one of horror, but only too true in its representation of the life of the time. In this massacre the household of Vyas Shastri is scattered. Tara is carried off by Moro Trimmul and rescued by Fazil, the son of the Mahomedan leader, in whose home she finds refuge. At this stage the contrasted types of Hindu and Mahomedan womanhood are carefully described. There is much here of idealisation ; but the description of Zyna, the daughter of Lurlee Khanum, in her relations with Tara gives a picture of domestic happiness and peace that contrasts delightfully with the wild and passionate life that surges without the walls of the Khan's residence. At this point for the first time Sivaji comes prominently forward. The declaration of war by Ali Adil Shah found the Mahratta leader acknowledged by the whole confederacy. Maloosray, the spy, appears to the assembled Mahrattas and tells of the desecration of the temple of Tooljapur and of the projected Mahomedan invasion. Concerted action at once results, and the host of Afzal Khan is lured into the mountainous Mahratta country. Sivaji's passionate attachment to his mother, and the superstitious awe surrounding his reputation, are cleverly shown. His meeting with the Khan alone at the fortress and his terrible act of treachery have never been better described. The horror and pathos of the scene are heightened by the fact that Afzal Khan has already won the respect and admiration of the reader by his chivalry and skill in war. The reverse now suffered by the Mahomedans once more throws Tara into the power of Moro Trimmul ; and the distracted girl, to save her honour, declares herself Sati. The events of the story now move to a swift conclusion. The family of the Shastri, scattered at the sack of Tooljapur, are reunited, but only in time to discover their

beloved daughter's intention. At the last moment when the fatal rites had been prepared and Moro Trimmul was awaiting the consummation of his vengeance, Fazil Khan with his men disguised as Mahratta troopers, swept down on the crowd and carried off the victim, slaying Moro Trimmul. The marriage of Tara with the young Mahomedan noble follows ; and this need not be regarded as improbable in the light of the history of the Moguls who were accustomed to take Hindu Rajput wives.

In this ambitious work Meadows Taylor reached the height of his power as a writer of fiction ; and at the same time he exhausted the vigour of his oriental inspiration. The two later novels, *Ralph Darnell* and *Seeta*, dealing with the period of Clive and of the Mutiny, are less convincing in their appeal to the reader. The first deals with a period somewhat alien to the author's sympathy ; and the second treats of facts that were much too recent to admit of artistic and imaginative handling. *Ralph Darnell* is a long novel in five sections of which the two first are devoted to descriptions of English life in the middle of the 18th century. The remainder tell the story of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the tragedy of the Black Hole and the rise of the English power up to the time of Plassey. Incident there is in plenty ; and one vein of eastern romance runs through the last three sections in which the Afghan concubine of the Nawab is a living, if not an historic, figure. *Seeta* does not profess to give a detailed history of the Mutiny, but deals with the essential features of the rebellion as observed by a contemporary. The work has passages of arresting interest when the author is dealing with facts that came directly under his own observation. There is a splendid description of a criminal character, and of an organized dacoity followed by the record of a trial that is of great interest in the light of present day conditions. But if these events are eliminated, there is little of value in the book.

The idealistic picture of the marriage of a high-minded English official with a Brahmin girl fails to convince the reader ; and the story ends on a note of conventional romance with the hero safe in England. A Noble Queen, the last of Meadows Taylor's novels, does not follow the historical sequence of its three predecessors, but harks back to a time when Elizabeth was on the throne of England. The heroine is the historic Chand Bibi whose court-life and campaigns are described with a zest that holds the attention of the reader. The Portuguese figure largely throughout the work, and much care has been given to the character of the ecclesiastical adventurer, Dom Diego, who falls in the siege of Ahmednaggur. There are many portraits of a purely idealistic type ; but the work has a certain charm of its own, and is unique in attempting to describe a period of Indian history but little investigated.

The career of Meadows Taylor as a man of letters is such as might be expected from an officer with literary and historical interests, whose chief concern was the immediate duty of his administrative work. This he put first at all times. His autobiography reveals nothing more interesting than his renunciation of a remunerative and attractive literary career in 1840, when the *Confessions* had established his fame. This renunciation was a fortunate thing for India ; but it delayed for the long period of twenty years the fruition of his literary talent ; and made impossible his cherished scheme of illustrating the main periods of Indian history until such time as his mental vigour was in decline. In themselves, his three last novels produced between the years 1865 and 1875 would not have established his reputation ; and these may be conveniently overlooked in any final estimate of his work as a writer of fiction. The *Confessions* were deservedly successful in their portrayal of a life of criminality that had recently startled the civilized world. But a greater service than this was done to literature by the narrative of the adventures of the Thug.

Perhaps without conscious intention, Meadows Taylor had in his first literary venture, definitely ranged himself with those writers to whom fact was more than fancy, and to whom the East was something more tangible than a nebulous world of romance. If we remember what books dealing with the East were in vogue in the early 19th century, our sense of gratitude to Meadows Taylor will be increased. Beckford in 1782 had written his extravagant Vathek; and he was followed by Southey and Moore who had taken up eastern themes. The first expounded Indian religion in two incredibly dull poems; and the second warbled soothingly of Mogul court life in Kashmir. The orient of these writers was no more eastern, than was Horace Walpole's residence at Strawberry Hill a Gothic structure. But at last, in 1824, a decisive blow was struck at all the false sentiment attaching to an East as little understood as visited, when James Justinian Morier launched upon the world his immortal hero, Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Here at last was the oriental Gil Blas, naked and unashamed. Sir Walter Scott, who never lost touch with the facts of life, declared in the Talisman that Morier had described eastern manners with the fidelity and humour of LeSage and the ludicrous power of Fielding himself.

In the year of Hajji Baba's appearance William Brown Hockley was compelled to leave India; but in his retirement he published two novels, Pandurang Hari and Tales of the Zenana. Both are works of outspoken realism. The first presents a character of true eastern type, and of a naiveté in things moral that would not have inconvenienced Amir Ali himself. The story moves rapidly, and in its progress holds the interest of the reader from start to finish. The second book is a series of tales, likewise devoted to realism, that illustrate various aspects of Indian character. For its scheme this work is indebted to the Arabian Nights, but the stories are original and of a delightful piquancy. The fate of these two books has not

been happy ; and now they are known only to the curious ; but in the time of Meadows Taylor they were popular in Western India, and in his preface to the *Confessions* he refers specially to Pandurang Hari as a work that depicts faithfully the thoughts, manners and customs of the Indian people. With Morier and Hockley the author of the *Confessions* must be classed. All three followed the tradition of the *picaresque* novel which, from the time of the Elizabethans has been one of the delights of English fiction. The name denotes vigour, movement and incident. It derives from the Spanish word for a rogue ; and in the *Moll Flanders* of De Foe its connotation is elaborately and lovingly developed. Into no class of literature could Amir Ali, the Thug, be more appropriately introduced ; and the success of his appearance was due in part to the earlier and triumphant entry of the immortal Hajji Baba of Ispahan.

With the publication of *Tippu Sultan* in 1840 Meadows Taylor ceased to adhere to the methods of the *picaresque* novel. His new theme had been, as it were, thrust upon him by an enterprising publisher, and he had come somewhat unwillingly to his task. But the work gradually absorbed his interest, and made possible the more elaborate tale of *Tara* which was planned originally at the time of the completion of *Tippu Sultan*. Both works rank definitely as historical novels and upon them his reputation as a delineator of India's past must rest. His new method involved adherence to the main facts of history, the truthful presentation of Indian manners and customs that change little from age to age, the creation of characters to illustrate fully the life of their time, and the production of certain idealised types setting forth human nature as it ought to be, rather than as it is. This method involved a complete departure from the traditions of Morier and Hockley ; but in illustration of India's varied life, Meadows Taylor continued to create many a minor character of startling vitality and convincing realism.

When Tara was first planned, Sir Walter Scott had been dead for only seven years ; and one cannot fail to trace the influence of his style and method upon the author of *Tippu Sultan*. The latter subject had attracted the great novelist who touched upon the history of Mysore in the *Surgeon's Daughter*. For any writer of historical romance to escape his influence in the year 1840, would have been impossible ; and Meadows Taylor learned in the school of Scott to conjure up the past as a romantic picture, to create alternately the ideal and the realistic human type, and, whenever the temptation offered, to abandon himself to the delight of recalling the pageantry and the glamour of an oriental court. With his great teacher he had much in common. Both were busy men of affairs to whom literature was, at least to begin with, a gentlemanly pastime. Both loved the outdoor life and both were sportsmen. A simple dignity of purpose marked the character of both ; and this has been beautifully expressed by Meadows Taylor when, at the close of his life, he referred to his literary work and wrote : " I wanted to bring India nearer to England—to bring its people nearer to our people ; and if, by my simple descriptions of life among the natives any have felt more interest in their Indian brothers and sisters, or have been led to read and study more, my object has been attained."

T. O. D. DUNN.

Calcutta.

THE WAR WORK OF WOMEN SINCE AUGUST, 1914.

BY J. C. KYDD.

IN the early days and months of the war the present development in the employment of women on all kinds of work seemed far enough away. The actual outbreak of hostilities caused a very considerable depression throughout industry, especially in such trades as had always employed a large number of women workers. "In some trades a shortage of raw material or the loss of enemy markets caused a more or less lengthy period of depression. Thus the shortage of sugar caused very considerable unemployment in what was almost entirely a woman's trade—jam preserving and confectionery. The chemical trade was also affected by the complete cessation of the import of certain commodities from Germany. The practical closing of the North Sea to fishers brought to a standstill the occupation of those women who are to be found every season in thousands on the English coasts following the herring round." (*Credit, Industry and the War*, p. 70.)

In many of the clothing trades conditions were also bad and, as a consequence, at this time the philanthropy of voluntary needles was looked at askance. In August 1914, for example, there was organised, for the provision of clothing and comforts for the troops, what was known as Queen Mary's Needlework Guild. In view of the serious unemployment amongst women in the clothing trades and the apprehension that such an organisation would but aggravate distress the following announcement was made through the press :—

"There has been evident misunderstanding concerning the aims of the Queen's Needlework Guild, some people

feeling alarmed at the possibility that the enlistment of the voluntary aid of women workers would tend to restrict the employment of other women in dire need of paid work. Voluntary aid was meant to supplement and not to supplant paid labour, and one of the Queen's very first cares when the Guild appeal was decided upon was to avoid the infliction of any hardship.

"The matter has been under earnest consideration ever since, and the announcement that representatives of working women will be called into consultation provides a guarantee that everything possible will be done to safeguard the interests of women workers." As a consequence certain arrangements were made through the National Relief Fund Committee for the provision of work for women.

The general depression, however, did not last long for the British Government and also the Governments of the Allied countries placed such orders in the United Kingdom as made necessary the concentrating of industry on the work of clothing, feeding, and equipping the Armies and the Navies. Much of this work was of a kind for which the unemployed women were suited and in consequence the position was greatly eased. The prominent feature of these earlier days was the transference of women and girls from industry to industry—the movement being from trades which were depressed to those stimulated to extra activity by the large demands of Government. For example, in the Leather and Leather Goods Trades while there was a contraction of 11·8 per cent. on the number of women employed in July 1914, in September of the same year, by February 1915, an absolute expansion on the numbers before the war of 36·6 per cent. was recorded. In the cotton industry the figures for September 1914 show a contraction of 14·9 per cent., but by February 1915 this was reduced to 3 per cent. for the abovementioned reasons. In this connection it

is interesting to note that in April 1917, with regard to the textile trades as a whole there was recorded an increase of 2·55 per cent. on the number of women employed in July 1914, when the figurers were 863,000. While this is so 38 per cent. of the firms engaged in this branch of industry report their inability to obtain all the female labour they require. The textile industry is one in which women have for long been employed in considerable numbers, but now so many other avenues of employment are open for women—employment for which the remuneration is fixed on no pre-war standard—that this industry necessarily suffers. The clothing trades afford another example of a group of industries affected by the same circumstances. In these after the outbreak of war, as has been noted, there was considerable depression and unemployment. The percentage of decrease on the numbers for July 1914 in September 1914 was 8·6 per cent. The large Government orders led to a revival and, though in April 1917, 37,000 fewer women were employed than before the war (that is a contraction of 5·97 per cent.) 23 per cent. of the firms concerned could not get all the female labour they desired. For purposes of classification laundries are included under this head. In laundries approximately 86 per cent. of the workers are women. The contraction of the numbers of women employed in this work has been 14·3 per cent., but 31 per cent. of the laundry firms are now unable to obtain all the female labour they desire. The difficulties in this trade even led to the suggestion of the introduction of Chinese laundrymen to fill the gaps which the attractions of munition work had caused in the ranks of the women.

Along with this transference in the early days of the war from industries which were depressed to those which were brisk owing to the special demands for Army and Navy supply, and in consequence of the recruitment of men for service, there occurred a great acceleration in the

employment of women and girls in what may be referred to as non-industrial occupations—clerical work of all kinds, work as shop assistants, as waitresses in hotels and restaurants, and so on.

In addition to such transference and to such non-industrial employment women were also soon drafted into the work of the armament firms to take up such unskilled work as their strength fitted them for, and into engineering, the chemical trades, and other industries new to women to which the circumstances of the time gave a special national importance. But in the early days skilled labour from these industries was freely recruited so that in face of the new activity demanded and the need of skilled mechanics to work with the unskilled female labour many men had actually to be withdrawn from the fighting front to resume the work to which they had been trained.

Although, thus, six months after the outbreak of war women were being employed in large numbers on all varieties of work few could be said to be directly replacing men in industry. The great development which may be spoken of, in part, as replacement came later. Before the war a gradual expansion was taking place in the industrial employment of women but still—chiefly through the action of Trade Unions—a fairly clear line of demarcation was drawn between men's and women's work. For example, this line was definite enough in the textile industries of Lancashire. But even in the early months of the war these lines of demarcation were being moved and though, in many cases, the Trade Unions have safeguarded them in theory, the later development,—stimulated by urgent need,—has, for the time being at least, obliterated them. To refer to but one well-known case. Before the war the introduction of women as car-conductors was seldom contemplated. The withdrawal of many men made it, however, a matter of importance that such introduction should be made and so women took over the work of men as conductors.

In Glasgow, in which the service of the Corporation Tramways is one of the most efficient in the world, it was the custom that no conductor should be confirmed in his appointment till he had put in so many months as a driver. But many of the women conductors were not fit to drive the heavy cars and so this rule was relaxed in their favour. At the same time such women as were physically capable were encouraged to learn driving and now some 100 are qualified drivers—and it is an exception to find a male conductor on a tramcar in Glasgow.

With the creation of larger new factories, consequent upon the organisation of the Ministry of Munitions, for work on shell making and the manufacture of other forms of munitions, work with which previously only the larger armament firms were acquainted and for which their powers of production had proved insufficient, and with the great extension of engineering shops and other factories concerned with the production of material essential to the carrying on of the war, a very considerable amount of adaptation became possible which, in the latter part of 1915, and since then, has facilitated greatly the introduction of women into industry. The steps whereby this development became possible can be only briefly indicated here. It involved the relaxation of Trade Union rules and, this being recognised negotiations began with a conference held in Sheffield in March 1915 at which the Engineering Employers' Federation and various Engineering Trade Unions were represented. Their deliberations resulted in the well-known "Shells and Fuses Agreement," in which recommendations for the abolition of all restrictions on output were advanced on condition that no cutting of piece rates would take place unless warranted by a change in the method of manufacture. In addition the following paragraph was incorporated with regard to women :—"We are satisfied that, in the production of shells and fuses, there are

numerous operations of a nature that can be, and are already in some shops, suitably performed by female labour. We therefore recommend that, in order to increase the output, there should be an extension of the practice of employing female labour on this work, under suitable and proper conditions."

This agreement was supplemented within a fortnight by the results of the Treasury Conference at which representatives of all the important Unions connected with the production of war material were present. The Treasury agreement to which all these Unions ultimately gave their consent was later incorporated in the Munitions of War Act of 1915.

As has been indicated, then, it became possible to proceed with an immense amount of reorganisation in industry. But it must be noted that such changes as have taken place,—entailing the simplification of processes, and the introduction of new automatic machinery and innumerable aids to the work on such machinery, make it difficult for one to speak accurately of the replacement of men by women in industry. Substitution of male labour has become a common term in relation to the position of industry at the present time but in different cases it means different things. Sometimes a woman has been introduced to replace a boy or youth who in turn takes over the work of a man. Here the replacement is indirect. Again, the term is employed in reference to the work of women on processes which before the war were performed by neither men nor women. Much of the work in munition factories is of this nature. Of course in non-industrial occupations and in the less skilled branches of industrial occupations there is a vast amount of real replacement. But even in such cases as in connection with the more skilled work in industry the identity of the work done may not be complete. For example in engineering works it is increasingly common for women to be employed on the skilled work of "marking

off" at the surface table,—but the pieces marked off by such employees are generally smaller and more easily handled than those left for the men still engaged on this work. Perhaps the imagination of the public has been most captured by the magnificent work women are doing in our munition factories. There, to take a shell factory as typical, in most cases the women operate the machine, but for each eight to twelve machines a skilled male superior is set apart. While the operators tend the machines this supervisor is responsible for setting up the machine tools and for such repairs as may, from time to time, be necessary. In a sense, then, the replacement here is only partial, too, but such an example brings us to the basis of the principle of dilution of labour—a phrase familiar to all since the latter part of the year 1915. The first official steps towards the dilution of skilled labour after the passing of the Munitions Act, were taken in January, 1916, when a special Commission was appointed to introduce the system in Glasgow and throughout the Clyde district. The work of this Commission, which was carried out under considerable difficulties and with no small opposition from the Trade Unions, who were anxious above all to safeguard the position of their members, lasted for several months. In May it extended its activities to the Tyne—and in August, 1916, it was announced through the Press Bureau :—

“Arrangements have been concluded for dilution in ship-building and ship-repairing yards on the Clyde and Tyne, with all the principal shipyard trades, and the interchangeability of members of different shipyard trades and the introduction into the shipyards of unskilled men and women are proceeding satisfactorily. Arrangements have accordingly been made whereby the current work of the Commission on the Clyde and Tyne will be taken over and continued as from 1st September by officers of the Ministry of Munitions and of the Admiralty, as in other parts of the country.”

Thus for Government establishments and all controlled factories the Ministry of Munitions and the Admiralty are now responsible for the extension of this principle of dilution—which may, generally, be said to be that no skilled man shall be employed upon work which can be performed by unskilled or semi-skilled male or female labour. In addition to the work of these two Departments the Home Office and the Board of Trade undertook the encouragement of substitution on their own account. In March, 1916, they issued an appeal to employers urging them to review the organisation of their works to ascertain how, by rearrangements or other measures, they might profitably employ as large a number of women workers as possible, and to seek the co-operation of the local Labour Exchange. Following upon this the Home Office and the Board of Trade organised conferences between employers and employed in many trades and as a result of these, formal agreements were made for the regulation of the further employment of women during the war. A variety of pamphlets have also been issued by these Government Departments indicating how best substitution may be advanced in various branches of industry and making available for employers' information as to the terms and methods by which it can be effected.

As a result of such active encouragement and the work more recently undertaken by the Ministry of Labour, a large extension in the employment of women in all branches of work of national importance has taken place. The Ministry of Labour has now taken over from the Board of Trade the organisation and management of what are now called the Women's Employment Exchanges. It is said that the change of the term "Labour" for that of "Employment" has been a happy one in so far as the former, having a popular implication of heavy manual labour deterred women from making application when desirous of work.

With regard to the actual position the following table, in which are incorporated the latest available figures, will make clear how the employment of women is continuing to extend :—

Occupation.	Estimated number of women employed in July, 1914.	Increase in number employed since July, 1914.				
		April, 1916.	July, 1916.	October, 1916.	January, 1917.	April, 1917.
Industrial Occupations	2,184,000	278,000	362,000	394,000	423,000	453,000
Commercial Occupations	496,000	166,000	221,000	246,000	274,000	307,000
Professional Occupations	67,500	13,000	14,000	15,000	18,000	21,000
Banking and Finance	9,500	23,000	32,000	37,000	43,000	50,000
Hotels, Cinemas, Public Houses, etc.	176,000	12,000	20,000	16,000	10,000	13,000
Agriculture (Great Britain Permanent labour)	80,000	—14,000	20,000	500	—14,000	... ..
Transport (not Municipal)	19,000	23,000	35,000	41,000	51,000	62,000
Civil Service	66,000	39,000	58,000	67,000	76,000	89,000
Government Establishments	2,000	25,000	79,000	117,000	147,000	198,000
Local Government (including teachers).	198,000	21,000	30,000	34,000	44,000	47,000
	3,298,000	586,000	871,000	967,500	1,072,000	1,240,000

From this Table it will be seen that within the quarter ending in April, 1917, there has been a very distinct increase in the development of the employment of women,—an increase more than proportionate to that of the two previous quarters. The figures do not compare with those for the first six months of 1916 when the special activities of the various Government Departments referred to above in stimulating substitution and dilution of labour led to large additions of female workers to the ranks of these various occupations. But these figures

in grouping industries of all kinds together represent quite inadequately the changes that are taking place and conceal the transference of labour from one kind of factory to another. For instance, though an increase of only 30,000 is shown in the whole group of industries the Ministry of Labour reckon that the metal trades alone account for an increase of 41,000 women and the Chemical Trades of 8,000 during the period between January and April, 1917. In other trades there have been considerable decreases. For example, in those grouped under the heading of food, drink and tobacco the numbers have fallen by 8,000 since January, 1917. Again the clothing trades and textile industries also continue to lose female employees though the rate of decrease is not so rapid as in previous quarters. It is interesting, however, to note what the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* for August, 1917, has to report with regard to this latter group.

“The total number of women employed in the textile trades is still 22,000 above the figure for July, 1914, although in the cotton industry alone there has been a decrease of 10,000 since the outbreak of war.”

It is further necessary to point out in explanation of the figures given that they do not include many women who are doing good national service at this time. They only refer to women who are employed and those who are working on their own account are consequently excluded. Those employed in small workrooms in the dressmaking trade are also excluded. In this branch of trade, as also most notably in domestic service which is not classed under any of the occupations given, the statistics of employment are very much below the figures for July, 1914. A rough estimate of the decrease in this direction has been given as 300,000. Most of these women have found employment in munition factories or in other forms of work. The figures for agricultural labour likewise inadequately represent the facts for casual agricultural work, which is

of great importance at this time, does not come within the reckoning. In a letter written to Lady Londonderry, President of the Women's Legion (published in the *Times* of September 21st), Mr. Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture, acknowledging the great service done by this organisation, writes :—

“ In almost every part of England and Wales there are now some 200,000 women who are doing a real national work on the land. They are carrying on to the farms the same patriotic enthusiasm which inspires their menfolk by land and sea. Like them they have cheerfully borne their share of hardship and discomfort . . . In entering on what is to many women an entirely new sphere of work, they have overcome many prejudices and encountered some ridicule. No one laughs now, except at the prejudices. In the management of horses, in the care of livestock, in milking and dairying, in thatching, and in the hundred and one jobs about a farm, women can hold their own. If in other forms of work their success depends more largely on their physical strength farmers have learnt that women can do as well as men most things to which they have set their minds.”

Then again many women are now nobly employed in the work of tending the sick. Figures available for January, 1917, in which part time workers are grouped together to represent so many full time workers, show the total number of nurses, probationers, and helpers as 42,500, 13,000 of these being voluntary workers under the British Red Cross Society and the St. John's Ambulance Association.

The recent organisation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps by the National Service Department, and latterly by the Ministry of Labour, has opened up another sphere for women. Many have already been drafted into the various military offices at home and in France to replace men but there is still a large demand for clerical

workers, shorthand typists, book-keepers, motor drivers, cooks, bakers, and orderlies.

This rapid survey of the employment of women in industrial and non-industrial occupations during the war has been largely confined to a statement of facts, and space does not permit of any adequate estimate being made of the importance of this vast development, nor of any consideration of the problems to which it is likely to give rise in the period of reconstruction. But in order that what has been stated above may be put in proper relation to the present facts it is necessary to refer to the firmer grasp which women are obtaining of the work which has been entrusted to them. As we have seen 'replacement' is a term difficult to analyse accurately—but making allowance for difficulties it is estimated that in April, 1917, 1,256,000 women employed were directly replacing men, a figure about two and a half times the corresponding figure twelve months before. Replacement is greatest in Government establishments of all kinds where in January, 1917, it was reckoned as 36·01 per cent. of the total number of employees, male and female. The group of Banking and Finance,—which includes the important branch of Insurance,—comes next in order, then the Civil Service and Commercial occupations. In Industry generally, also, there has been considerable progress in the value of the contribution of women, for, so far as Trade Unions permit, women are stepping into places which even twelve months ago were closed to them. Throughout the country there is no uniformity in this development as it is so frequently affected by considerations of local importance. But its significance is great. For instance, in one 6-inch shell factory on the Clyde district, on many operations women supervisors may be found responsible for the setting up of the machines previously entrusted to a skilled male worker; and in other operations the machinists have been trained to dispense altogether with

the services of a supervisor. This factory is controlled by a firm which has for long had experience of female labour, but not more than 6 miles away another 6-inch shell factory might be visited where the anxiety of the Trade Union to safeguard the position of the men has made necessary the continuance of the old system.

Women can no longer be regarded as successful workers only when engaged as single-purpose tool minders on repetition work. In aircraft construction, in the making of high speed aero-engines, guns, gun components, rifles, shells, fuses, bombs, in the optical industry, in various branches of marine and general engineering, in foundries, and in many other branches of industry women have shown an ability and an adaptability unexpected because untested. The Ministry of Munitions have a favourite photograph the description of which is a matter of great wonderment to the layman. The picture shows a woman, in the familiar Khaki overall and cap, with eyes intent upon her work, her hands grasping two levers of her machine, milling the top of what is called a Clerget Cylinder. And as the footnote says: 'This woman sets up her own tools and job and works to a limit of 0.05 min. without stops.' And this is regarded as but a sample of the fine work being done on aircraft engines by women for we are told of other work being done to such fine limits as 0.01 min. or 0.0004".

Much is now being done in the way of short time practical training to fit women to become highly skilled on the particular pieces of work on which they can be allowed to concentrate, and were all restrictions to further development removed the women in industry would be able to give but further evidence of their ability. This war work would then create a new type—the woman mechanic,—not an equivalent of the male mechanic who has served his long apprenticeship so that he knows something of many operations though his work may be largely

concentrated on one,—but one capable of doing any piece of work on the kind of machine to which she has been trained. Industry has been completely reorganised under the conditions of war production and the woman mechanic is the type now required. Of what importance is this type, now evolving, for the future? Much depends on the manner in which the problems of reconstruction are tackled, but if advantage is taken of such reorganisation for the stimulation of peace production the women mechanics should still have their place in industry without undue prejudice to the work of skilled tradesmen. At the same time it needs to be noted that present development is not determined by long views. Urgent necessity in times of emergency is not a lasting foundation for a new structure. But, as may be fairly deduced from the above survey, part of that foundation now seems sure enough. Some lines of demarcation which were artificially maintained have been so easily shifted that they can never be restored to their former level. Enfranchised women have a new part to play in the political and industrial life of the country and the upheaval of the war has but made us recognise that sooner than we should otherwise have done.

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THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN MIDNAPUR.

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TO the modern Bengali politician the Permanent Settlement of Bengal effected in the year 1793 by which the Land Revenue demand was fixed in perpetuity is the supreme example of "enlightened statesmanship," to use his favourite phrase, and Lord Cornwallis who brought it about the type and model of the beneficent ruler. It may, therefore, be interesting to consider the methods by which this great measure was carried out with some of its immediate effects and how it was regarded by the persons on whom it was bestowed. To do this fully for the whole of Bengal would require a volume, for local conditions modified the procedure and produced varying results in each separate district. The present sketch is confined to one district, that of Midnapur, and the materials for it are derived entirely from the official correspondence in the Collector's Record Room.

Midnapur was one of the districts which had been ceded to the Company in 1760, but it was not coterminous with the present district. On the east and south-east most of the present sub-divisions of Contai and Tamluk constituted the Faujdari of Hijily which was not amalgamated with Midnapur till 1836, while the north-east formed part of Hughli and Garbeta thana on the north was in Burdwan. On the other hand the district extended south to the Subarnarekha river thus including part of the present district of Balasore, while on the west and north-west the limits were somewhat indefinite but stretched some distance into the present districts of Bankura, Manbhum and Singhbhum. The area thus included in the grant was divided

into two strongly contrasted portions ; on the west of a line running approximately north and south through Midnapur town was practically continuous jungle broken only here and there by small patches of cultivation and thinly populated by aboriginal peoples. Here jungle chieftains held sway who had never been conquered by the Mughals and who paid, if any tribute at all, a purely nominal one. They lived mainly on the proceeds of raids, but in 1767 they had been reduced to some sort of order by a small military expedition led by Ensign Ferguson acting under the orders of the Collector in Midnapur, and he had assessed a small revenue on them. The total amount was practically negligible being at the time of the Permanent Settlement after several revisions only Rs. 19,608 for an area of some 3,800 square miles. The remaining portion of the district, roughly 2,150 square miles, consisted of fertile alluvial soil growing paddy as the principal crop; it was, however, extremely liable to flood from the rivers which, confined to comparatively narrow channels in the rocky jungle portion and unable to discharge their flood water there, spread themselves with great violence as soon as they entered the low-lying tract and often caused immense damage to crops. It was on this portion that practically the whole of the revenue of the district was levied.

The position of the Company in the ceded districts was different from that in the rest of Bengal in which they obtained merely the grant of the Diwani in 1765. The intolerable system of dual control which resulted from the latter grant never obtained in the ceded districts where from the first the Company had the sole management of all revenue matters in its own hands. In Midnapur, moreover, they were spared the difficult problems which arose elsewhere as to the persons with whom settlement of the land revenue should be made, for there was never any doubt as to the position of the Zemindars. In 1764 when a proposal was made by Government to farm the revenues

by putting them up to auction to the highest bidder, a system which was then being introduced in Burdwan, the Collector reported that there were no farmers to make settlement with as the whole district was "in the hands of hereditary Zemindars who derive their right from original sanads granted to their ancestors." He was probably wrong about the existence of sanads in all cases, but it is easy to understand that in Midnapur, a frontier district far from the seat of authority and for long disputed between Mughal and Mahratta, the process by which persons who were originally mere collectors of revenue transformed themselves into hereditary landlords, should have gone further than in those parts of Bengal more directly under the eye of Government. The revenue history of Midnapur, therefore, up to the time of the Permanent Settlement exhibits a placid continuity and an absence of violent fluctuations which is in marked contrast with that of other districts. For three years after the cession little change was made in the assessment from that of pre-British days, but in 1764 the Collector, or as he was then called the Resident, after a personal tour throughout his district in the course of which he made careful enquiries as to the areas under cultivation, their rent and general capabilities, fixed the revenue at a little over 8 lakhs. Numerous resettlements were made in the ensuing years but the total was not increased, on the contrary it fell at one time to $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; and in the year 1786-87 it was just under 8 lakhs. Practically the sole cause of the fluctuations was the occurrence of floods of greater or less intensity; when any such occurred enquiries were at once instituted to ascertain the extent of the damage and if it was considerable the revenue was reduced for the ensuing year, while almost every year some portion of the assessment was remitted; this was indeed rendered almost inevitable by the fact that by immemorial custom the Zemindars were bound to grant abatement of rent to their tenants for

loss caused by flood and therefore in any bad season they would have been simply unable to pay the full amount of revenue out of their current rents. But it shows that there was a far more accurate knowledge of the local conditions and a far greater elasticity in the assessment of the revenue than obtained in most of the rest of Bengal at that time. Where the Collector was satisfied that the Zemindar could meet the demand and refused to do so merely through contumacy stern measures were, it is true, taken. For example in 1772 the Raja of Mainachara, one of the most important in the district, having fallen into arrears was compelled to execute a bond for the amount and when he failed to discharge it a small military force was sent to take possession of his stronghold; he was apprized of this and absconded, whereupon he was declared disqualified, but his son was allowed to succeed to his place. This is almost an isolated instance, however, and in the vast majority of cases so long as a Zemindar showed that he was really doing his best to comply with the demands he was treated with leniency and consideration and allowed to remain in possession of his ancestral property. There can be no doubt that the district, freed to a large extent from the menace of Mahratta raids and incursions of jungle tribes, enjoyed during this period a time of tranquility and good government to which it had long been a stranger.

In 1786 Lord Cornwallis landed in India bearing definite instructions from the Board of Directors to effect a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. He is the first and in many ways the most notable exponent of the policy of dictating administrative methods from home and over-riding the opinion of the local officials, for there is no doubt that Sir John Shore in his able minutes pleading for suspension of judgment until fuller knowledge of the conditions of the country could be obtained, expressed the best opinion of the men on the spot. Into the merits of the

policy in general it is not intended to enter here ; so far as the Permanent Settlement is concerned the arguments will be found summarised in Mr. Ascoli's recently published book "Early Revenue History in Bengal and the Fifth Report to the House of Commons," and it must be evident to any unbiassed reader that whatever judgment may be passed on the measure in the light of subsequent history, Lord Cornwallis had very much the worst of the argument in so far as that was based on the facts as then known. But we are concerned here only with its immediate effect on Midnapur district. The attitude of distrust of the local official was very soon in evidence. In 1787 serious floods occurred in the district and the Collector, Mr. Peiarce, recommended a remission of revenue to the extent of nearly 2 lakhs of rupees. As he had been Collector for 14 years continuously he might have been supposed to know something about the needs of his district, but the Governor-General in Council, not content with his report, sent down a special Officer from Calcutta with instructions to make enquiries. This gentleman spent about a month going through the flooded area and at the end of it reported that the amount had been grossly exaggerated and a remission of half a lakh was all that was necessary. His methods of investigation were somewhat naif ; he airily remarked that it was difficult to get about owing to the floods, so he had made detailed investigations of losses in one or two villages in each pargana affected and then assumed that the same ratio applied all over the tract. He added that it was really unnecessary to remit even the half lakh as the Zemindars had vast resources out of which they could easily bear some loss in one year. What he based this opinion on there is nothing to show, but Government at once took it up and severely censured Mr. Peiarce for daring to suggest any remission and called on him to estimate the total gross resources of his district so that they might see what proportion

the revenue bore to them. A reply was demanded with the utmost celerity. Peiarce must have known that it was absolutely impossible to arrive at anything approaching accuracy without detailed investigations impossible to carry out in the time allowed him ; there is nothing to show what steps he actually did take, but he submitted an estimate of something over 13 lakhs which after deducting 20% as collection expenses left a profit of about 2½ lakhs to the Zemindars after paying the revenue, which as noted above then stood at just under 8 lakhs. The reply impaled him on the horns of a dilemma ; either, it said, you knew of these resources or you did not, in the former case you are guilty of neglect of Government interests in not assessing a higher revenue, in the latter you know nothing about your district and are unfit to be Collector, and he was suspended from office. (He died shortly after and is buried in a corner of the present judge's compound with a monument over his grave reciting all his virtues.) Having thus discovered that the man who had peaceably and so far as appears from the records successfully administered his district for so many years was totally incompetent, the Governor-General in Council superseded him by a Mr. Cosby Burrowes from Chittagong who came with instructions to make a full enquiry with the object of raising the revenue. Having got such a broad hint as to what was expected of him he can perhaps hardly be blamed for the proposal he sent up, but it is instructive to observe his methods. These were strictly in accord with the regulations and instructions issued by the Governor-General and they show again very clearly that distrust of the value of local knowledge and of the judgment of the local administrator which always seems to accompany the endeavour to govern India direct from London. Hitherto in Midnapur Collectors had been encouraged to tour their districts and base their revenue proposals on personal investigation of the condition of the land, but Mr. Burrowes sat in his

headquarters and called for papers from the Zemindars. He instructed them to file complete papers showing the assessment on and realisation from each individual raiyat for each of the preceding five years, which, as he remarks, would, if supplied, afford an absolutely exact basis for estimating the gross assets. Unfortunately the success of such a method depended on three assumptions, first that the Zemindars possessed such papers, second that they were accurate, and third that they would be produced, and none of the three proved to be correct. Anyone with the most superficial knowledge of Bengali zemindari management would have known that there was not the slightest chance of the assumptions being realised—he himself must have been perfectly aware of the fact for he had had considerable experience in the service, but he was bound by the instructions which the superior wisdom of a Governor-General fresh from home had issued. The result of course was that many of the Zemindars filed no papers at all, that those who did file some gave incomplete ones and that many of those sent in were palpably concocted for the purposes of the enquiry. No attempt was made to check them by local enquiry—again in accordance with instructions which stigmatised such a procedure as harassing to the Zemindars, but they were scrutinised by the Sadr Kanungo, Raj Narain Ray, who pronounced them to be correct. On this narrow and fundamentally inaccurate basis by the simple process of assuming the profits of those zemindaris and those years for which no papers were handed in to be on the same scale as those shown in the returns, an estimate of gross resources for the entire district was built up amounting to 16½ lakhs. From this various deductions had to be made so returns were called for from the three principal zemindaries—Kasijora, Mainachara and Midnapur, showing actual disbursements for the preceding three years on collection and establishment charges, religious and household expenses, and the

proportion deduced from these was applied to all the other zemindaries. Here again the word of the Kanungo was accepted as to their probable accuracy. The result was that a revenue of nearly 10½ lakhs was proposed. The deductions amounting to 38% of the gross assets seem considerable, but it is to be noted that no account was taken of the periodical menace of floods which in the absence of a complete system of embankments—and that was not attained till half a century later—were liable to destroy an entire year's resources, and as it was specifically stated that in future no remissions would be allowed on this ground the allowance was not as generous as it seemed. In any case the whole structure depended entirely on the accuracy of the returns and these, as we have seen, were a shaky foundation. Burrowes himself recognized this and in his letter forwarding the proposals he expressly stated that personally he considered the estimate too high but deferred to the opinion of the Kanungo who as a local man was supposed to have an intimate knowledge of the entire district. He could hardly do otherwise for he arrived in Midnapur in May 1788 and the proposals are dated in November of the same year, and as during that time he had never moved from headquarters he could know nothing of his charge. The haste with which, under constant pressure from the higher authorities, so vitally important a proposal was prepared is not the least astonishing feature of the new methods.

One would have thought that Burrowes would be congratulated on effecting this substantial increase, but quite the contrary was the result. The Governor-General in Council was of opinion that the deductions were far too large and directed further enquiry with a view to reducing them. Burrowes complied and proposed a revenue of 11 lakhs 17 thousand which was accepted for the year 1789-90, but at the end of that time there were heavy arrears and Burrowes urged a reduction to 10½ lakhs.

A long correspondence ensued into which it is not necessary to enter, the tone of Government's letters getting more and more acrimonious until in December 1792 they decided that Burrowes, like his predecessor, was hopelessly incompetent and removed him from office. Mr. Dowdeswell was sent in his place and he in November 1793 sent up the proposals which were finally accepted and confirmed as the Permanent Settlement of the district. The revenue amounted to $11\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs.

Throughout this long period from May 1788 to November 1793 no change of method is observable; the same pathetic belief was clung to in the worth of the papers supplied by the Zemindars and in the possibility of arriving at a true estimate of the resources of the district from a consideration of these alone without any check beyond the personal opinion of a single Indian official. If subsequently, as they did do, the Zemindars found reason to be dissatisfied with the efforts of Government in their behalf they had, in Midnapur at least, one of themselves to thank in large measure for such unfortunate results as accrued.

That the immediate results were unfortunate the records show only too plainly. Having decided that he was conferring a great boon on the Zemindars the Governor-General proceeded to enforce on them the strictest compliance with their part of the bargain. It had been proved beyond the possibility of doubt by figures which cannot lie that they were in possession of certain resources which after payment of the Government revenue left them with a handsome maintenance, therefore any failure to pay the revenue must be due to sheer contumacy and an intention to defraud Government of its just dues. From the logic of this there was no escape and relentlessly the law was put in operation against defaulters. The system of payment of the revenue was then by monthly *kists* and the moment any month fell in arrears the entire

estate was attached, an *amin* deputed to collect the rents from the tenants, and if at the end of the year all arrears had not been satisfied such portion of the estate as was estimated to fetch the amount due was separated off and put up to auction as a new estate. The effect was nothing short of disastrous ; hundreds of estates had to be attached—there were about one thousand in the district altogether at that time—and the conduct of the agency employed to collect the rents is thus described by the Collector. “The dues of Government are but little improved, nay perhaps rendered worse, by the almost innumerable attaching *amins* circulated throughout this collectorship in whom no sort of trust can be confided even if their salaries were larger ; for I believe this consideration has little weight in their consciences and whether their wages are high or low it will not actuate them in the upright and proper discharge of the trust unavoidably committed to them. Hardly anything is ever collected by them on behalf of Government or transmitted to the treasury in part payment of arrears and the inhabitants are everywhere very averse to them.” Considering that their pay varied from Rs. 6 to Rs. 20 it was perhaps not much to be wondered at that the class of man available was not very desirable—probably they were about the stamp of the modern *nagdi* or *gomasta*—and in those days the Collector was the sole revenue official in the district and there was no reliable agency such as is now afforded by the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates, so that they had to be left entirely to their own devices. This point is brought out clearly by another Collector who says “From the neglect and dishonesty of the *amins* who are necessarily taken from a class of natives more prone to corruption, perhaps, than any other, the balances almost invariably increase after attachment ; it is impossible for any Collector effectually to check and control the conduct of 800 or 900 *amins* scattered over a large district who are unavoidably left to make up

their accounts as they please and whose malpractices cannot be detected without a very long and tedious enquiry which can seldom take place without the assistance of the landlords who hardly ever think it worth their while to promote it." Indeed it appears that the landlords had good reason to avoid enquiry for they were as often as not in league with the *amins* and were receiving the rents which should have been paid over to Government. Moreover the system by which at the end of the year only so much of the estate was put up to sale as was estimated to cover the arrears was a bad one, for in the absence of any papers showing the resources of each village it was difficult to decide what proportion of the revenue of the whole estate the separated portion could bear. Frequently this was overestimated and the new estate promptly came under the hammer of the auctioneer again and eventually in many cases was left on the hands of Government for want of bidders, and besides cutting all their losses they were obliged to submit to a permanent reduction of the revenue before anyone could be found to take settlement. Frauds were of course rife; a purchaser having squeezed the utmost possible out of the tenants purposely would fall into arrears, let the estate be sold, buy it in again under a fictitious name and then repeat the process. How far this dismemberment of estates proceeded may be instanced from that of Kasijora once the largest and most flourishing in the district which by 1800 had been split up into no fewer than 303 separate estates and the Raja owned—in his own name at least—not an acre of revenue-paying land in his ancestral property. This is an extreme case but the same process went on elsewhere on a smaller scale for in 1803 the total number of estates in the district had risen from 1,000 to 1,900. In fact from a quiet, well-administered and on the whole contented district Midnapur had been converted by the precious boon of the Permanent Settlement into one in which fraud and oppression—

the latter be it noted practised exclusively on the inhabitants by persons of their own race—were rampant and of which a Collector could write in 1796, “Vast tracts of this province (*i.e.*, district) are tending by perceptible retrocession to a state of alarming ruination. Balances have accrued, do accrue, and will continue to accrue, and the raiyats are overwhelmed with deluge and destruction from the atrocious neglect of embezzling farmers.” Again and again did the landlords petition that the fiat of permanency might be cancelled and the successive Collectors unanimously supported them, but the Governor-General only replied that a great boon had been conferred on them and it was their own fault if they did not profit by it, while the Collectors were severely censured for not exercising more control over the *amins*—as though it were not a physical impossibility for them to do so. The Zemindars may, perhaps, be excused if they did not appreciate the goodness of Government quite as much as was expected of them.

It would not of course be correct to attribute these results solely to the Permanent Settlement or to the action of Government. No doubt if the Zemindars had bestirred themselves to bring the then immense quantities of waste land within their estates under cultivation, if they had rigorously curtailed their personal expenditure, got rid of useless dependants, pruned their superabundant establishments, exercised rigid control over their subordinates to prevent embezzlement and generally conducted themselves according to the principles of enlightened self-interest, they might at the cost of a few years plain living and high thinking have found themselves still in possession of their ancestral estates and in a position to pay the revenue with ease. This was indeed what Lord Cornwallis, following the admirable tenets of 18th century philosophy, confidently expected that they would do, actuated, as of course all reasonable beings are actuated, by the sole force

of reason, and on such a theory he was perfectly justified in demanding the very heavy increase of revenue which, in consideration of its being fixed in perpetuity, he laid upon them. Unfortunately he forgot to allow for the defects of human, and more particularly Bengali, nature and to use the words of one Collector his system “demonstrates some radical defects, some insuperable impracticability of theoretical arrangements.” To call on an entire people to change their most deep rooted habits and instincts at a moment’s notice—for no warning of the impending increases was given them—was a scheme which could appeal only to the most inveterate doctrinaire impervious to any but *a priori* arguments. And nothing less than this would have sufficed to transform the Bengali landlord of a hundred years ago, thriftless and slack in management, caring nothing for efficiency provided he had enough at hand to continue in the ways of his fathers, into the model of industry that the Governor-General had in his mind’s eye, or to transform the Bengali underling, corrupt and oppressive, into the ideal agent concerned only for his masters interest and the good of the people. Without such a change the increases were simply oppressive and there is no doubt that, as testified by a whole series of Collectors, it was in existing conditions simply impossible for the majority of the landlords to meet the demand.

There is no intention of entering here on the thorny question of Permanent *vs.* Temporary Settlements, considered as abstract policies. All that has been aimed at is to show, in respect at least of one district, that the method of introduction of the new policy was such as to produce on the people supposed to be benefited—the less said about its effect on the raiyats the better—very serious hardships. Of course the eventual benefits were great but it was not until 1825 that the arrears had fallen to a figure which justified the inference that the revenue was not an undue burden, and not until 1834 that the Collector could definitely report

that the assessment was light in proportion to the then resources of the estates. It might be suggested that the Board of Directors would have been wise to follow Sir John Shore's advice. He was not, as he is often misrepresented to be, opposed to a Permanent Settlement in principle ; all he argued was that Government had not sufficient knowledge at the time to justify them in fixing the revenue irrevocably ; if they over-estimated the resources of the Province as they might easily do they would be unfair on the landlords, if they underestimated them they would be unfair on Government. How correct he was in the former supposition has been seen in the case of Midnapur, and though no mistake was made in the latter direction considering the state of the country at the time, it has now come about that Bengal bears far less than her due share of the public burdens.

A. K. JAMESON.

Midnapur.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EUROPE.

BY SIGMA MINUS.

THE right of rebellion, or “gospel of anarchy,” preached once upon a time even by English politicians, was deprecated by a distracted Ministry, as tending to reduce the British Empire to the same level as Mexico. The orgies of massacre and destruction, which have convulsed Europe since those distant days, may be said with equal justice to have reduced it to the level of those South American states, whose internecine conflicts were perennial sources of merriment among the Scribes and Pharisees of England, not to speak of France and Germany. The whirligig of time has brought one of its usual revenges, and it is now the peaceful and orderly citizens of Chile, Brazil and the Argentine Republic, who are in a position to wag their heads at the undisciplined turbulence, which has already destroyed eight millions of European lives and billions of pounds’ worth of European treasure, without conferring any benefit on any European people, except possibly the exultation—too often its own reward—of participating in a glorious war of regeneration and uplift.

It is no longer necessary to labour the responsibility of the Kaiser and his companions for the war and its concomitant atrocities :—

quis aut Eurysthea durum
Aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras ?

The woods of Germany are full of “bad men,” whose shrift must and shall be short. But the same thing could have been predicated not so long since, of the Australian bush, and of the wild and woolly West.

Judge Lynch provided spasmodic relief; but the ultimate solution was found, not in the off chance of condign punishment—as often as not vicarious—but in stable government. Bad men will always take chances, if they have the Platonic incentive of payment, either in wealth or in honours, whether we label these indemnities or “swag,” notoriety or military glory. Nothing will cure them but government. It is the total absence of a European government, in other words, international anarchy, which has left Europe at the mercy of Mitteleuropa, and powerless to prevent her own temporary ruin—temporary, only if she remedies the radical defect to which it is due. The House of Hohenzollern must cease to reign—so much is dictated by the needs of the moment; we have also to legislate for our future security, by setting up a *régime* which will preclude for ever the chance of a “Hohenzollern” restoration in Germany or elsewhere.

The long peace of exhaustion, which in western Europe succeeded the Napoleonic Wars, was mistaken, by those who enjoyed it, for the result of some psychological superiority racially inherent in the Western European. That fallacy is now sufficiently exposed, and we have got back to fundamentals. Nature and History alike have said it: man is much the same kind of animal whatever hemisphere is his habitat. He is, always and everywhere, lacking in that instinct for self-preservation which prevents dog from eating dog. Unless, and until, his reason has prevailed over his desires, and the reasonable members of the species have compelled the remainder to recognise a permanent government, which can prevent it, man does and will eat man. The first government set up on any scale to put a stop to this habit was the Roman Empire, of which the *pax Romana* is rightly regarded as the chief product and justification. Since the decline and fall, few of the larger land-masses have been immune from the forces of self-destruction which render

the life of man in a state of nature so nasty, short and brutish. The North American continent and the Indian peninsula seemed in a fair way to achieving this immunity in the first half of the 19th century, although the Mutiny and the American Civil War were terrible, if temporary, relapses into barbarism. In both cases, however, the recoveries were rapid, and may safely be regarded as definite and permanent. It is the most populous and important of all, *the* continent, Europe herself, the mother of modern civilization, that is in the direst need at present of the only solution which will prevent a fatal recurrence of Armageddon, itself but a culmination of the discords and chaos of peace; for even peace had its horrors, though less renowned than war.

The solution in Europe can only be the same as in America and India, because the European, like the American and the Indian, is merely a man. *Similia similibus curantur*. What the European wants, or rather needs, is a government, strong and central, which, with or without regard to local feelings and interests in Germany or Russia, Italy or France, will prevent particularist jealousies from jeopardising the lives and property of the whole of Europe. The Government of Europe will have to be strong, and, like most governments, to begin with, it will be concerned mainly, if not exclusively, with the maintenance of law and order, that is to say, with the prevention of the use of force by any one but itself or its authorised agents. In spite of the fatalism and conservatism of the human mind—just as conservative and fatalist in Europe as in Asia—the question will immediately arise—it has already arisen,—what basis and constitution must be given to this Government, so as to endow it with the strength and permanence necessary to fulfil its function. At this time of day, when men have learnt to fly in more than the literal sense, it is little use to fold

the hands, to ingeminate *laissez faire*, and to mock at millenniums and Utopias. India and America are not Utopias, but ferro-concrete realities, emphatically extant. In any case, Utopias are not sillier than Armageddons; the choice lies between the two, nor can the European shirk the issue: "Under which king, Bezonian? speak or die."

The practical search for a type for the new government can only be conducted on the understanding that originality does not exist in politics; we shall have to follow the paradigmatic method, and build upon precedent and analogy. There is, in this case, no analogy on a sufficiently large scale outside India and America, now that no Roman Empire remains. Despite the lucubrations of Mr. Lionel Curtis, the self-governing States of the British Empire are not *de facto* subject to any common authority capable of exercising, or willing to exercise, forcible control over them. They are individually autonomous, and, above all, they are not like the United States, or India, contiguous territories. It is quite certain, and perhaps just as well, that what geography has sundered, not even the Round Table can bring together; for there is no blinking the fact that it is not merely the golden link of the monarchy, nor the silken strands of sentiment, but very largely the intervening seas themselves which guarantee the maintenance of the Pax Britannica between the many parts of the Empire. It is to the vast contiguous areas of America and India that we must turn for suggestions that will be fruitful in the settlement of Europe, which shares their attribute of continental solidarity.

As between the two exemplars, it would be evident to a political tiro, that though both are strong and central, and claim and enforce a single and undivided allegiance and sovereignty, in almost every other respect they differ as much as or more than any two types of government, past or present. It is a curious testimony to the blindness

of human nature, as well as to its *amour propre*, that in former disputations almost invariably the wrong, that is to say, the less practicable of the two types, has been assumed, almost without argument, to be the only one worth considering. It is due as much to this as anything else that the advocates of universal peace have laid themselves open to the charge of vague and visionary thinking, without regard to the actualities of life. The fact is, that the conditions which obtain in America, do not, at present, obtain in Europe, and until they do, there can be no United States of Europe. In America, true, the population is racially identical (barring the southern negroes and a very slight tinge of Red Indian blood) with the population of Europe; but it differs in the all-important points of being homogeneous, unstratified, and both vertically and horizontally mobile. In spite of millions of immigrants, it is not a modern Babel but proportionately a more monoglot and less hyphenated population than is to be found in England itself, not to speak of the British Isles. War or no war, the condition of Europe is not remotely similar.

Though the continent is geographically and ethnographically one—as every schoolboy ought to know by this time, Celts, Teutons, Slavs and the rest are political myths, as often as not evolved to order in the land of damned professors—nevertheless history has left a many coloured mark on the map and on the people, which will remain indelible for many a long day. The difficulties consequent on differences of language alone are sufficient to make the practical working of a government like the government of United States impossible, apart altogether from the divergence of sentiments and interests which can be explained but cannot be explained away. The internationalisation of Europe is proceeding apace—it has been accelerated, not retarded by the great war; but the further process from internationalisation to nationalisation has not even

begun. It follows that much water, not to say, blood, will have to flow under the bridges of Seine and Spree, Danube and Tiber, rivers of Europe, before the dwellers on their banks are able, like the men of Massachusetts, to manage any constitution.

The facts being what they are,—and even before they were underlined and aggravated by the forces of reaction set in motion by the war, their enunciation would have been a truism—it is clear that any political unity, especially if it is to be the forerunner of a national unity, can stand no chance of establishment in Europe, unless it is superimposed from without. It is here that the lesson of our other great prototype, India, becomes obvious to the verge of clamancy; though as we have hinted, vanity makes men blind, even to their own most vital needs. India, as Europeans have recorded and repeated until the thing is a common-place and a cliché, is no more than a geographical expression. It is admitted, indeed, that the internationalisation of its constituent elements has been completed under the British Raj; but the further fusion of its tribes and castes into a single nationality is still in the incipient stage. Until this stage has passed into history, there can be no possibility that India *fara da se*. For generations to come, in order that its eventual unity and independence may not be imperilled, the strong hand of the stranger will be needed in India to hold together indigenous forces, which have not yet lost their centrifugal variety.

All this is admitted to be true of India to the point of platitude; but no Martian visiting our planet could fail to remark that every word applies with even greater force to Europe, which, as he would point out, is in the 20th century as distracted by discord as ever India was in the 18th; and, moreover, presents few indications of evolving a native power, as strong and capable of controlling the continent, as the Moguls and Mahrattas were

of controlling the peninsula. Desperate conditions, he would remark, demand desperate remedies ; and he would call, in the interests of humanity, at any rate, of white humanity, for the application to Europe, as to India, of the same radical cure of impartial and powerful foreign control, to save her from a race-suicide more literal and rapid than anything associated with the name of Malthus. Fortunately, the instrument of salvation, the antidote to the bane, lies ready to hand ; all that is needed is to call in the New World to assume control of the old, and to request the adult Republic of the West to undertake for a time the same honourable office of tutelage and protection for the sub-oriental countries, which these very countries performed up to a century ago for undeveloped and adolescent America, and for the same reasons.

That the United States would prove equal to the task admits of not one moment's doubt. Her qualifications are unimpeachable both in the material and spiritual spheres. To find a flaw in them would indeed tax the powers of a logothete, Byzantine or even Besantine. *Imprimis*, her own position is impregnable and invulnerable. Since militarism is not dead, nor even sleepeth, strategic security must come first ; and America alone among the powers is both insular and continental. She is, with 3 or 4,000 miles of ocean on either side of her, and as the United Kingdom is no longer, strategically an island ; and yet she contains within her own frontiers the infinite resources of a continent, which render her independent and self-sufficient, as no other power or combination of powers is or can be. She is free permanently from that preoccupation with home defence, which has proved successively fatal to the bids for world power of Spain, of France, and of Germany. A similar, but lesser, freedom accounts for the British Empire of to-day. These may be the accidents of comparative geography ; but they count all the same. Size and numbers must come next, since we live in the age of

agglomerations. A continent in themselves, the United States of America comprise more than a 100 millions of men, and alone among the nations with the possible exception of Russia, the graph of their population shows a rising curve. But it is when we come to quality, that we discover America's true qualification to set the European house in order. Despite their number and extension, her people present a unity in difference never equalled in history. Accustomed to every variety of climate, from tropical to Arctic, and free, owing to their diversity of origin, from the traditions which weigh like lead on the older civilizations, they are, nevertheless, informed by an identity of ideals and a community of interests not to be paralleled elsewhere. The terrible cleavage into classes, which has warped the old world into the social semblance of a Neapolitan ice, is not to be found among them. Rich and poor do not in America, as in the England of Disraeli and Lloyd George, belong to two different nations, speaking two different dialects. No people are as well educated, as well fed, or as physically fit. The results of all these advantages, moral and material, have been translated and writ large in the spheres both of politics and industry. No other nation has solved the problem of making government both popular and strong. The spirit of Henry Ford, who combines a maximum production and profit, with a 48-hour week and a minimum wage of a guinea a day, may not be universal in America ; but it is undoubtedly typical. It is not yet abroad in Europe, even in war time.

It is true that these matters have not been fully grasped in the chancelleries of Europe ; but they are far from being ignored by its inhabitants. The migrations of the last century have made the people themselves, from the Scandinavians of the north to the "Slavs" and "Dagoes" of the east and south, familiar with America to a degree unsuspected by their pastors and masters. The *bout rimé* tells us

*Tout le monde a deux patries
La sienne, et l'Italie ;*

but, however it may be among the cultured and governing classes, America has long been the spiritual home of the proletariat, from the bogs of Kerry to the mountains of the Morea.

This, hitherto, half-hidden hand across the sea has, since America's advent in the international cock-pit, been reinforced by a recognition, even by our press-ridden plutocracies, of her power, and, above all, of her disinterestedness, which has already borne excellent fruit. The Stars and Stripes, which fly over Admiralty Headquarters at Queenstown, serve as straws to show the way the wind blows ; while voices have been raised, even by capitalists, demanding that the settlement of Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople should be handed over to the only power which can be trusted to carry it out efficiently and honestly. The late Russian government had already decided to place the bulk of its mines and mineral deposits, as well as its railways, in American hands. It remains the only hope for them.

America alone has neither axes to grind, nor old scores to settle. She is out neither for annexations nor indemnities—not even to capture trade. She not only says, but obviously means, that she seeks no gold, she seeks no territories. This lack of selfish bias, due, no doubt, as much to geographical isolation as to the idealism of her people, will be coupled at the time of settlement with an ability to enforce her wishes exceeding Great Britain's in the not dissimilar circumstances of 1815. It is not the country which has made most sacrifices, but the power which retains intact most of its resources, which inevitably has the say-so in *Realpolitik*.

Time and the ocean and some fostering star
In high cabal have made us what we are ;

the same agencies, *ohne Hast aber ohne Rast*, will place the sword of Brennus in the hands of President Wilson. Efforts may be made to gloss over facts, especially at first ; but they will none the less make themselves felt, and even heard. Eventually, if Europe is wise, she will voluntarily and systematically submit to the strong and sympathetic rule of an independent power, which, for years, will know her needs, and how to secure them, better than she can know them herself.

SIGMA MINUS.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF KALIGHAT AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY RAI SAHIB DINESH CHANDRA SEN.

STUDENTS of the antiquities of Bengal will be interested to learn that there are many relics of the Buddhistic age in Calcutta and its vicinity. The name of Calcutta was formerly 'Kalghāttā,' a distortion of the word 'Kālighāt.' The name 'Kalghāttā' occurs in an old manuscript of the Bengali work 'Padmāvat' written by Alāol, a poet of Chittagong, in the 17th century. The manuscript is 150 years old and is to be found in the library of the Calcutta University. The image of Kālī worshipped in the Kālighāt Temple was established by the celebrated Yogi Goroksa Nātha, a native of Jhalandar in the Punjab in the 9th century A.D. We find a legend in this connection in an old Bengali work called 'Goroksa Vijaya' written probably in the 13th or 14th century. The Bengal Encyclopædia 'The Visvakosh' had recorded the fact long before the poem 'Goroksa Vijaya' was discovered. This is quite an independent source from which the tradition is substantiated. The image of Kālī was formerly somewhere in the Maidan. The locality is still called 'Kalghāttā.' In the work 'Goroksa Vijaya' it is further stated that a few years after the image of Kālī had been established, Goroksa Nātha paid a visit to the place and found that human sacrifices were freely offered to the goddess. The saint prohibited this. Goroksa Nātha was, as I have already stated, a Punjavee and was the leader of a sect of the Buddhists, who mostly hailed from the up-country. Thus the word 'Calcutta' is not derived from the word 'Kālighāt' as the Bengalis pronounce it, but from 'Kālighāttā,' the form by which the up-country

people used to designate it. About 350 years ago Rājā Prātapāditya or his uncle Basanta Roy removed the image of Kālī from the Maidan to its present temple at Kālighāt. Not long after, the Cāvarna Chowdhuries of Barisha, a village 7 miles to the south of Calcutta, became custodians of this temple and their descendants still continue to hold this office. The fact of the image being established by a Punjavee who had a large number of followers from amongst up-country men, explains why this goddess is visited even now by a great number of men from North-Western Provinces. The locality covered by the present Maidan was formerly a field of great Buddhist activities. Dharmatālā, as its name implies, was a place dedicated to the worship of Dharma, the popular name of the Buddha in this country. Chowringhee was a Buddhist saint who lived in the 9th or 10th century.

So much about the Kālī of Kālighāt. About a mile and a half from Behalā, a village nearly 5 miles to the south of the Esplanade Junction, is a place called Chanditalā. The local tradition says that the image of Chandī worshipped there was established by Crimanta Sadāgar of the old Bengali legend. In April a fair sits at the place, visited chiefly by a very considerable number of women-folk. I paid a visit to the fair last year and entered the temple to see the image. To my surprise, I found the image to be a Buddhist *chaitya* such as are to be seen in the pictures of the Barabdar Temple of Java. This *chaitya*, from which, no doubt, the phallic symbol of the present-day Shivaïtes has evolved, seems to be co-eval with those to be found in the Barabdar Temple and dated about 6th century A.D. The oldest form of the phallic symbol, which the Rig-Veda calls the "*Upastha Deva*," is not of the shape of a *chaitya*. It is generally a rough-hewn, long stone-block such as are to be met with in the Chandranatha in the Assam valley and other old shrines. That these *chaityas* used to be worshipped by the Buddhists, is

evident from their representations in the Barabdar Temple. Women are seen to kneel down before them and garland them with great respect. The *chaitya* of Chanditalā has over it a broken stone-block, which might have been some relic from an old temple held sacred by the people. When the ascendancy of the Buddhists decayed and their temples passed to the Hindu priests, the latter obliterated all old memories of Buddhism by giving to the sacred things of the Buddhists a new interpretation in which these were associated with some gods or goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The people still worshipped those images or relics which their forefathers had worshipped and the Hindu Renaissance made it a point to retain a flow of popular devotion towards ancient sacred things by giving them new names and representing them in a new light. Thus the symbols of the Buddhists Buddha, Dharma and Sangha in the Puri Temple became Kṛiṣṇa, Valarāma and Suvadrā after the revival of Hinduism, and many images of the Buddha began to be worshipped in Hindu temples as Civa. This is also the reason why an old Buddhist *chaitya* in Chanditalā is worshipped by thousands of Hindus as Chandī.

That the Buddhists were once ascendant in Behalā and its adjacent locality will be proved by the fact that there is still a temple dedicated to Dharma or Buddha near the Hari Sava Road of Behalā. The whole of the locality is called the Dharmatālā. The Domes, known as the Domachāryas and the Kāpālikaz were in many cases the custodians of the Buddhistic temples. It is sure that after the Hindu Renaissance in Bengal, no image of a god was established in this province, whose worshippers were not Brahmins. A Doma or Kāpālika could only discharge priestly functions during the Buddhistic times and in the present times they can do so only in those temples which were at one time beyond the pale of Hinduism. The Dharma Thākur, the image of the Buddha in the Behalā

temple, which is now a wretched mud-hut, is worshipped by a Kāpālīka. It is a small image of the form of a tortoise, like the one which used to be worshipped in Mainagara in the district of Midnapur by Lāu Sen in the 10th or 11th century. Viṣṇu, one of whose incarnations is the Buddha, once assumed the figure of a tortoise for saving the world and the Vedas from the Great Flood. Hence somehow or other the tortoise caught the fancy of the Buddhist devotees and many images of Dharma were represented in the forms of a tortoise in the 10th and 11th centuries. Besides the image of Dharma in the shape of a tortoise existing in the Dharmatālā temple of Behalā, there are two other miniature stone-images there, forming the Buddhist trio. The Sangha is represented by a stone-image of Cankha, the conch-shell. In the Cunya purāṇa and other Buddhist works of the 9th and 10th centuries, the Sangha is generally signified by the more familiar word 'Cankha.' The third image is of the Buddha Himself in His Vajrāsana posture under the Bodhi Tree. So we find the three figures, the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the familiar group forming the Buddhist trio, all in this mud-hut. At one time these were worshipped with great *eclat* and even now the "swinging ceremony" of the Dharma takes place in March, when a fair is held there. The "swinging ceremony" of the Dharma seems to have been imitated by the Vaisnavas in the "swinging of Kṛṣṇa", which is now a general festivity all over the country. By the side of this trio of the Buddhists is found another image, not indeed in stone but in metal, probably in the *aṣṭa dhātu* (combination of eight metals). This is of Chandī with eight arms. This image closely resembles the images of Chandī to be found in Brahmavanam in Java, built probably in the 5th or 6th century. The Dharma Thākur of Behalā, though now placed in a wretched cot, was once a great power, as close to its abode is a tank measuring about 19 bighas, which was once dedicated to it. Besides, there

were immense endowments for the worship of the god, the accounts of which are embodied in old records. The Brahmins of Behalā gradually ousted the Buddhists and usurped their lands.

Within two minutes' walk from the Dharma temple is an old tank of the Laskars, in course of re-excavating which an image of the Sun-god was discovered about 60 years ago. This stone-image is about 2 feet high and in good preservation. The seven horses of the Sun-god are on a pedestal and the god wears boots, a sure sign which distinguishes it from the images of Vāsudeva to which it bears a close likeness in all other respects. The image seems to be of the 10th century and must have belonged to the Buddhistic age. It is now preserved in a prominent place of Behalā, close to the tram-terminus.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN.

Behala.

TWO NOTABLE PRISON ADMINISTRATORS IN BENGAL.

FREDERICK J. MOUAT—ALFRED SWAYNE
LETHBRIDGE.

BY JOHN MULVANY.

THE obituary notices of the late Sir Alfred Swayne Lethbridge, K.C.S.I., I.M.S., remind us of his services in the cause of prison administration. He was, it is deservedly said, one of the ablest officers who served in the Indian Medical Service during the past generation, and the present Jail Department was practically organized by him.

Over a quarter of a century has elapsed since Sir Alfred Lethbridge severed his connection with the Bengal Jail Department, and there can be few indeed who remember the times in which he worked and the early state of the department he reorganized. To understand his achievement is to understand the history of prison methods in Bengal, and none has yet come forward to give that story to the world. But without attempting a detailed account of these matters, it is possible, by contrasting the labours of two great jail administrators, to get a bird's-eye view of jail history and, in so doing, to honour the name of one whose labours alone rendered possible the excellent work of Lethbridge, and whose merits, however well they have been understood, received neither recognition nor reward. We speak of Surgeon Major F. J. Mouat, the first Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal.

I.

FREDERICK JAMES MOUAT, M.D., F.R.C.S. (1855—1870).

The condition of Bengal, before the Mutiny, has been the theme of many able pens, and it has a great bearing

on our subject. The system which demanded from the Governor-General the additional administration of the Presidency, and the custom of deputing this duty to "an accidental Senior Member of Council, civil or military, fit or unfit, continually changed," and without remuneration, had produced inevitable results. "The administration of Bengal had," we are informed by Sir John Strachey, "notoriously become less efficient than that of any other Province of India. . . . There were almost no roads or bridges or schools, and there was no proper protection to life and property. The police were worthless, and robberies and violent crimes by gangs of armed men, which were unheard of in other provinces, were common not far from Calcutta. . . . At last the contrast between the condition of Bengal and that of other parts of India became too obvious to be neglected."

The state of the jails, always an index of the efficiency of an administration, left even more to be desired. The Prison-Discipline Committee of 1838 had fearlessly exposed the then existing evils and had recorded their opinion that the present system was such as imperatively required the Government, by every consideration of justice and policy, thoroughly to reform. More especially had they condemned the demoralizing effects of the employment of all term convicts on out-door labour, making roads. "In the Provinces subject to the Bengal Government (they said) there is, properly speaking, no system of in-door labour for male convicts, except for those sentenced to imprisonment for life." And these last were confined in the "Great Gaol at Allipore," now known as the Presidency Jail, where, owing to structural defects, discipline was conspicuous by its entire absence. And, where, merely entering the prison for the purpose of inspection was a matter of danger. The other jails, excluding, of course, the Great Gaol of Calcutta which did not come under the Bengal Government till 1864, were for

the most part mere temporary buildings, constructed mainly for the confinement of the road-makers by night. The mortality was lamentable, especially in the Lower Provinces, though, except in the case of the road-gangs, it did not strike the Committee as excessive. Classification hardly existed. Obviously there was urgent need for reform.

The plan of the Committee was, in the main, the formation of District Houses of Correction and the building of large central penitentiaries on the cellular system, where solitary confinement and purposeless labour, in silence, at the tread-wheel would, by enforcing greater severity, permit of shorter sentences. They estimated that "solitary confinement in an airy cell, with work allowed after a short time as an indulgence (could) be inflicted for at least two or three years together with safety to health and reason, and with good moral benefit." The idea of central jails was good—of solitary confinement, eminently bad, and they made matters worse by their condemnation of industrial labour in jails. They admitted that the employment of prisoners at trades was advantageous in point of economy but they argued that a handicraft could not be beneficially introduced without interesting the mind of the handicraftsman and affording him the pleasure of success, and this would diminish the pain which it was the object of imprisonment to inflict. Moreover, if labour stimulated prisoners by the ordinary incitement of honest industry, it was certainly not what was meant by a sentence of hard labour. Further it was doubtful how far compulsory labour in jails would be unfair to non-criminal labour, for the best workmen would be those who had been punished as robbers, thieves, and rogues, and the greatest criminals would become the most successful competitors with honest labour, because of their longer sentences. In short "it would soon be discovered, that going to gaol would be the first step to fortune." Their plan for central jails, encumbered as it was

by their scheme for solitary confinement and penal labour, was prohibitive as to cost and uninviting in every way. The tread-wheel had, in England, met with the most strenuous, if unsuccessful, opposition and its cost was enough to make any Government pause. The wheel erected at Cold Bath Fields Prison had cost £12,000, and that without the provision of any mill machinery which, in itself, was estimated to cost nearly an equal sum. Small wonder, then, is it that no steps were taken to carry it into effect.

But the strictures of the Committee, on the evils of road work, had been noted and the prisoners were, little by little, recalled to the jails and set to labour, of a distinctly industrial kind, but without organization and without proper supervision. As we have seen, the jails of Bengal were quite unsuited to become the Houses of Correction designed by the Committee. They were temporary structures of the most flimsy kind and at best provided only 20 feet of superficial space per head in the wards. Far from alleviating the evils of 1838 this attempt at reform merely accentuated and brought them more strongly into prominence. And when, in the early fifties of the 19th century, attention was focussed on the backwardness of Bengal, the shortcomings of its prison system were one of the earliest defects to attract attention.

An integral feature of the central penitentiary plan had been the appointment of one or more Inspectors of Prisons, who should be in confidential communication with every magistrate and with Government. The idea had been imported from England where the system had lately been introduced. But it was not till 1853 that the suggestion was acted upon and Mr. Loch, of the Bengal Civil Service, was appointed the first Inspector of Prisons in Bengal. None of this officer's reports appear to have been preserved and we have little knowledge of his impressions. His tenure of office was short for he was invalided in September 1856. But his appointment was

important for it was the first step towards organization and it was the foundation of the present Jail Department.

The appointment of a suitable successor to Mr. Loch was no easy matter. There was no Jail Service in those days, and no expert jail officers to select from. The mortality question was insistent. The death-rate, which had averaged 67·3 per thousand in the decade 1844-1853, had markedly increased, and it was obvious that the jail problem was as much medical as it was administrative. The appointment of Medical Inspector-Generals was already, in other provinces, an accomplished and successful fact, and the selection, by Sir Frederick Halliday, of Dr. Mouat, as a successor to Mr. Loch, had the sanction of precedent as well as the warrant of expediency.

Dr. Mouat had already attained distinction in his profession and held, at the time of his selection, the responsible position of Professor of Medicine at the Medical College, Calcutta, where he claims to have been the first to introduce into Bengal and into India, the study of hygiene. Ardent, keen, and of immense energy, he was a man of the strongest personality and will power, and he possessed, in no small degree, the faculty of adapting to his purpose, the best work of others. He admittedly knew nothing of jails or jail work—a fact which handicapped him throughout his jail career and considerably diminished his usefulness—but he endeavoured, by studying the literature of his subject, and by personal examination of other prison systems, both Indian and European, to atone for his want of practical experience. The knowledge he acquired of penal history was prodigious and, in his later days, it would have been difficult to point to any branch of prison administration to which he had not extended his literary studies.

The time is surely coming when the claims of a most unhappy section of the community will be so far understood

as to compel a recognition of its right to expert study and consideration. And, in this matter, India has taken an honourable lead. But in Mouat's day it was impossible. He was probably the best selection that could have been made and though his inexperience remained an insuperable obstacle to success, it is only fair to him to say that, far from realising his greatest defect, he mistook, in his later days, learning for knowledge and wisdom for experience. But he was a man of the soundest common sense and, though incapable, from his lack of training, of originating reform, his powers of discrimination endowed him with the faculty of avoiding, in no small measure, the mistakes of others. But even to raise the Bengal Jails to the level of other administrations was a herculean task. It was not that Bengal had retrogressed ; that was hardly possible. It was that it had never advanced. But that too, under existing circumstances, was also impossible. There was no Jail Department ; decentralization was absolute. The superintendence of the district jail was one of the minor duties of a busy magistrate, who had never the leisure and seldom the inclination to attend to the minutiae of a system where detail is, above all things, of importance. Classification of criminals did not exist, nor did the structural arrangements of the jails permit of it, and organized labour which, with classification, is the basis of discipline, was hardly thought of. There was no code of rules for guidance nor any standard of uniformity, and the index of administration was simply the individuality of the magistrates, of whom some would attempt to do something where others, hopeless of ultimate success, would exercise supervision in a perfunctory manner. The result was inequality of punishment and failure of justice. The warders were underpaid and venal. There were few reports and fewer returns, and statistics were practically unobtainable. Disease was rampant : mortality lamentable : sanitary science did not exist and the medical control was one of the obligations

of the civil surgeon which was not always fully recognised.

It would be useless, in the space of a single article, to attempt to depict the state of things which confronted Mouat in 1855. It was an utter chaos that might well have dismayed even stouter hearts than his. But he braced himself for the struggle and, with the energy which ever characterized him, he grappled with the problems that surrounded him. But he was up against vested interests. His first duty was to destroy a vicious system which had grown with British rule and which had the sanction of precedent both in India and England. Money, the one key to open the way to success, was never forthcoming, and his fifteen years of office are one long record of indomitable struggle for a prize he never saw and of sowing where he never reaped. And to add to his difficulties, the early days of his administration were clouded by the dark struggle of the Mutiny and its consequences.

Mouat's first step was to acquaint himself with the 59 jails of his new charge, which extended from Arracan in the East to Sambalpore in the West, and which embraced the Assam Division, the Non-Regulation Provinces of Darjeeling, Cachar and the Cossiah Hills as well as the whole of Chota Nagpore. The conditions of the roads and means of communication being what they were, it is not surprising to find that he was touring for as much as eight months out of twelve. The first reform he attempted was the reorganization of the guards and establishments. It was here the need was greatest and the matter was one to which Mr. Loch had already devoted attention and had prepared a scheme of reform. Loch's proposals included the novelty of a classification of jails, a graded staff and improved pay all round. Darogahs, now called jailors, were paid from 10 to 25 rupees monthly and Naib Darogahs received the miserable pittance of from 5 to 15 rupees. Loch suggested Rs. 35-75 and Rs. 20-30, respectively, and the creation of the

post of mohurrir on Rs. 15-20 at the larger jails. The warder guards were to be commanded by European sergeants on Rs. 35, or corporals on Rs. 25, and the pay of the jemadars, duffadars and burkundazes or nujeebs was to be increased. Mouat abandoning a scheme of his own which differed little from that now in force, adopted Loch's with the addition of a fourth class of district jail. He speaks, in 1859, of the utter corruption, cowardice, and sympathy of the existing guards and complains that the "raising of the pay of the Police has been fatal to the efficiency of the prison establishments. If there be a lower depth in this class it will now be attained." And later when referring to the extra warders necessitated by the still existing road-making, describes them as the expensive, inefficient, corrupt, dishonest, unimprovable, and discontented class of kamjaree burkundazes.

His wise and modest scheme of reform met with no success, for "financial considerations" obliged the Government of India to withhold its sanction to the proposed reorganization. But the state of the guards was too rotten to be even tolerated, and in 1859-60, armed police were gradually substituted for the burkundazes. By 1863-64 nearly all the jails were guarded by a police guard. Mouat never ceased to protest against this innovation which had only one merit in his eyes, in that it threw on to the Police Department the main cost of guarding. He described them as an expensive mistake and, in his reports, detailed with monotonous regularity the faults they had committed during the past year. The system, indeed, had nothing to commend it. The new guards were hardly less venal than the old and their subordination to the Superintendent of Police further divided the control of a system that already acknowledged three masters. But it was not until 1876 that the evil system came to an end and jail officers could enter their jails without having to ask permission of the Police Department.

This failure of Mouat's first attempt at reform was a serious set-back. For without proper supervision discipline is impossible. The acknowledged basis of every prison system is an adequate staff and Mouat's staffs were not only inadequate but corrupt. But he was not without resource. The Convict-Officer System constituting "Prisoners their own Warders" had been introduced some 30 years previously in the transportation prisons of Penang and Singapore, owing to the difficulty of obtaining the services of free men, and had spread as far as the Alipore Jail, where Mouat found it in existence in 1855. It "had succeeded so well (he tells us) on the limited scale to which it was then confined, that I resolved to place it on a more permanent and organized basis and to extend it to the other prisons under my charge." Thus was initiated the system which spread from Bengal throughout India and which still forms a marked and characteristic feature of all Indian prison systems. Its origin was obviously the result of necessity not of choice. It was, at bottom, a measure of economy, but it contained also certain potentialities of reformation and reward which had only to be recognised to obscure shortly its economic basis. And, with the enthusiasm of the inventor, Mouat so exaggerated the good points of his foster child as to endow it with qualities which existed only in his imagination. "In this particular" he tells us in 1866 "I have reason to believe that I am in advance of the prison system of Great Britain, and I am of opinion that, in its reformatory effects, the employment of prisoners in the maintenance of discipline in jail is as efficient an agent in fitting them for return to society wiser and better men, as the intermediate system of Sir Walter Crofton in Ireland, which has obtained for him so much well deserved honour and reputation in Europe as a prison reformer."

Mouat had, by this time seen the system in full force in the Straits Settlements, where it had indeed met

with much success. But he failed to realize that the essential elements of long sentences and a wide field of selection, which existed in Singapore, were only scantily present in Bengal. But the scheme had the advantage of economy and that alone was the measure of its success. Its reformatory advantages were gradually less talked about and in later days it became known at its true value. In the meantime, however, it had tided Bengal over a critical period and the debt incurred must be freely acknowledged.

Meanwhile Mouat's tours of inspection had revealed to him the state of the buildings which composed the squalid collections of mud huts then dignified with the name of jails. "Most of the old prisons (he records) were constructed at a period when such matters as drainage and ventilation were little known or cared for, it will still need a considerable outlay to render them even moderately healthy and habitable (the) plan of construction of prisons in many cases, invites escape, defies classification, renders penal servitude impossible, and unites every quality that is undesirable in a place of incarceration." And again "many of the outlying jails are mat huts, with frail bamboo or mat walls, securing the highest possible standard of insecurity. . . . To render these jails secure and efficient would involve an expenditure equivalent to building new prisons, with very doubtful advantages in diminishing the cost, or increasing the efficiency of imprisonment."

Sanitation, literally, did not exist. The jails, even at 20 superficial feet of sleeping space per head, were grievously overcrowded. The floors and walls were *leaped* and the night latrines were mere *cacha* mud receptacles whence the accumulations of the night were casually swept away with water to ferment and putrify in the adjoining shallow surface drains. "When I took charge of my present office in 1855," says Mouat, "I found that in nearly

every prison under my control, the ordure of the latrines was swept through open drains, that the same drains were used as privies, that the floors of the privies and drains were saturated with filth, that the offensive matters, mixed with water, were swept to swamps for the most part in the immediate vicinity of the jails, where it was allowed to saturate the soil, and to disseminate an abominable foetor." The mortality was lamentable, and the number of deaths incredible.

From the outset, Mouat opposed any policy of tinkering, which, he said, would be as costly as building new prisons. And, in 1858, he expressed the opinion that the only efficient remedy was the establishment of central penitentiaries, such as had been suggested by the Committee of 1838, and such as had already been constructed at Agra in 1845. Unfortunately he had become a disciple of the solitary system, at least in so far as it demanded, as in the English system, that every prisoner should be provided with a separate cell. And his views became more fixed as experience showed that separation in cells was much less fatal than association in insanitary wards. The cost of building cellular prisons is prohibitive, and Mouat's scheme for building several such prisons, had little chance of fruition, especially during the troubled times of the Mutiny. He never ceased to press his views, but it was not until 1864 that his insistency received its reward and a comprehensive scheme, embodying all his proposals, was submitted to the Government of India. The interest taken by Lord Lawrence, in jail matters, doubtless helped to bring matters to a head. The Governor-General approved generally of the proposal to construct eight central prisons, but considered separate accommodation for one-fifth of the population to be sufficient. This very reasonable provision did not meet with Dr. Mouat's approval. He opposed it on disciplinary, sanitary, moral and personal grounds and, it must be confessed, by his action delayed matters so much

that in 1868 the Government of India animadverted on the unnecessary delay which had occurred in the construction of the central jails, attributing it to the irreconcilable differences of opinion among high authorities in the local jail department. They spoke of "the very worst of our jails, those of the Lower Provinces." The construction of three central jails at Midnapore, Bhagalpore and Hazaribagh was immediately put in hand, but they were not nearly completed during Mouat's time. A fourth was also sanctioned for Deegah, but the project never came to anything.

The President in Council had looked with anything but favour on the remarkable attitude of the Committee of 1838, towards industrial labour, and had favoured the view that the employment of convicts might and should contribute to the upkeep of the prisons. And even before Mouat's time half-hearted attempts had been made to employ prisoners usefully. But in the absence of any central control and of organized methods of disposal of the products of their labour, the jails had to depend on the uncertainties of the local markets, and their energies were largely lost or frittered away in a great variety of industries, many of which were quite unsuited to convict labour. Mouat turned his attention to this matter with characteristic enthusiasm, and the genius he displayed marked him as an exceptional man of business. It was here he was most successful, and it is to his labours that the subsequent industrial success of the Bengal jails is due. He recognised at once the potentialities of the situation, and he saw too that by means of organized labour he could minimize some of the defects, for the removal of which he could get no financial help. He argued that idleness was the most fruitful cause of crime ; that ignorance was the inseparable companion of idleness ; if therefore he could turn his jails into schools of industry he would, not only be able to maintain the strictest discipline but would also cause the

convicts to repay, by their industry, the cost of their maintenance, and, at the same time, return them to society with a knowledge of handicrafts which would enable them to earn an honest livelihood on release. He was not content with mere cottage handicrafts. His ambition soared to the great industries such as eventually materialized in all the large jails of Bengal. His first venture was the introduction in 1857, of Government Printing at Alipore, laying the foundation of the fine Press which now exists at the new Alipore Jail, where all the Forms work of Bengal and Assam is undertaken.

The development of his scheme met with much opposition from the local magistrate who was also the superintendent of the jail and who, at that time, was practically independent of the Inspector. But Mouat fought his case with great skill and eloquence and in discomforting his opponent laid, at the same time, the foundation stone of the present Jail Department. In the following year the Inspector became Inspector-General, with well defined powers of control. In 1863, steam presses were introduced into Alipore thus inaugurating the application of steam-power to jail industries. Success was immediate and the profits more than satisfactory. But Dr. Mouat was in advance of the times. His humane and enlightened views met with much criticism and his success with considerable jealousy. He tells us in 1865 that "Dr. Wiehé, the Inspector-General of Prisons in Bombay, in reporting the results of his visits to some of the principal prisons in the other Presidencies of India, states that the Bengal system of jail discipline as practised at Alipore, is that of converting a jail into an easy-going school of industry, in which discipline and reformation are entirely sacrificed to profit, and that 'it is perhaps scarcely possible to conceive a system more indulgent, less tentative in respect of moral reformation and better calculated to promote the comfort of the convicts.'" But Mouat never shirked a fight,

and he defended his position ably. He may not have convinced Dr. Wiehé, but he carried the Bengal Government with him, with the result that, in 1868, he was able to extend the jute factory at Alipore by the introduction of steam spinning machinery. He candidly admitted that in this he had been anticipated by the authorities at Singapore, which he had visited in 1861 and again in 1865, and where he had seen a pug-mill and a steam saw at work, in connection with the building operations of the convicts. But the credit of applying steam power to jail industries, on an extended scale, is entirely his, and he prophesied the time when "by the introduction of machinery the central jails . . . will rapidly repay the whole cost of the prisons of the Lower Provinces. Machinery will in them, as it has done at Alipore, not only utilize prison labour to the utmost, but will so regulate it that hard and corrective labour will always be found for sentences of rigorous imprisonment." He consistently opposed the tread-wheel and all forms of aimless labour, but the spirit of the times and the example of England were too strong and, in 1869, the first tread-wheel was set up in the Presidency Jail. But the labour on it was far from wasted for it was "attached to a saw-mill, hand looms and wheat grinding apparatus." And he records of it that "it has been very successful as an instrument of punishment for habitual thieves, and for short-term prisoners unacquainted with handicrafts."

But though the improved organization of labour had undoubtedly raised the general tone of the prisons, yet in the absence of any classification of the prisoners, and in the difficulties in the way of punishing jail offences, discipline was at a very low level. Of classification, which is the true basis of discipline, Dr. Mouat tells us, in 1867, that "Classification, for any purpose of prison discipline and reform is at present impracticable in the jails of Lower Bengal, exclusively from the defective construction of the

prisons. With the separation of women from men, and of untried from convicted prisoners, all party walls and subdivisions of the interior of the prisons have been removed on sanitary grounds." It is true that, in the first jail Code of 1864, he had provided a most elaborate and useless system of classification, which reflected as well as anything his practical ignorance of crime and criminals, but his scheme was obviously meant merely to meet the requirements of the first Prisons Act (II of 1864), and, in a Circular Order of that year, he directed that it should remain in abeyance pending the necessary structural alterations in the prisons.

The only authorized punishments were separate confinement up to seven days, link fetters and handcuffs, and whipping. As, however, there were no cells, and as most of the convicts were fettered as part of their sentences, the choice, in the earlier days, was limited. And in the case of females, who were exempted from both fetters and whipping, there was no choice at all. Dietary punishments, sack-cloth clothing and the forfeiture of privileges belonged to a later day. In practice, therefore, the main instrument of discipline was the lash. Mouat was, above all things, a humane man, and he lamented the recourse to flogging which he considered a brutal and degrading mode of correction, but one that was, under the circumstances, essential to the maintenance of discipline. He said in 1867, "I am of opinion that it is the duty of the State to provide the means of maintaining discipline, and punishing offences without compelling prison officers to resort to this mode of correction in a multitude of cases for which it is unfit and improper. I scarcely enter a jail in my circle of superintendence in which I am not distressed at the amount of flogging practised, and yet I am unable entirely to forbid or arrest it, because all semblance and shadow of order and discipline would vanish, if this power were taken out of the hands of the officers in charge of prisons."

But when all is said the punishments of Mouat's régime were the veriest child's play to those which were to come, and the humanity of his policy contrasts favourably with the severity of England and of his immediate successors.

The existence of juvenile crime and its bearing on recidivism does not appear to have occurred to Dr. Mouat, until his attention was forced to it, in 1863, from Home. We can only attribute this to his lack of early training, and to the fact that the subject only began to attract notice in England in the early sixties. He submitted a scheme for the formation of juvenile wards in central jails, adapted from the French model at Mettray. But he represented "that there is yet no class of juvenile criminals in Lower Bengal" and that "there is neither need nor room for juvenile reformatories. Had the Whipping Act been properly applied, a considerable proportion of the few sentenced would not have been imprisoned at all. When arrested, the cases of these children ought to be summarily disposed of, as there is not a single district prison in which the means of separating them from adult offenders in the under-trial wards exists." Whether the Inspector-General was correctly informed of the true state of affairs or not, it is at least remarkable, that within a very short time the number of juvenile criminals showed a marked increase, and this led to the Bengal Committee on Reformatories in 1874, to the Reformatory-Schools Act of 1876, and to the opening of the institution at Alipore which has since been transferred to Hazaribagh.

Throughout the whole of Dr. Mouat's fifteen years of office, the medical and sanitary aspect of his charge had been insistent. We have already seen the hopeless condition of the jails which was at the bottom of the terrible mortality and which he could get no funds to improve. "It is unfortunately necessary to admit" says Sir William Grey, in the Jails Resolution of August 1870, "that the mortality

in some jails is still greater than in all human probability it would be if money could be made available to improve the sanitary condition of the jail sites and the jail buildings." We know also of the backward state of medical science in the times of which we write. Most disease was thought to be the result of miasms and an almost superstitious reverence was paid to meteorological conditions. The microbic origin of disease was unknown. The clinical thermometer had hardly been invented and cholera, the scourge of Bengal, eluded all investigation. Mouat's energies were largely directed to the origin of disease, which he examined from every conceivable standpoint, and the results of his labours are embodied in marvellous statistical returns, which testify eloquently to his skill and ingenuity. But he was impatient of advice, and his ill-advised opposition to the recommendations of the War Office Sanitary Commission are probably the biggest blot on his official career. He laboured under incalculable difficulties not the least of which was the Mutiny and its results which increased the mortality rates of Bengal jails to the incredible average of 130·9 per thousand in 1860. But he made the most of the materials at his disposal. He swept away abuses and effected such reforms as were possible and his introduction into Bengal and into India, of Moule's system of dry earth conservancy was, perhaps, his greatest service to sanitation.

He created jail gardens. He dug wells. He increased the standard of floor space from 20 to 56 square feet and he demanded, for each prisoner, a cubic space of 648 feet. He never ceased to ask that the administrative charge of the jails should be removed from the magistrates and made over to the civil surgeons, and that the medical control should be vested in himself instead of in the Civil Medical Department. But it was not until January 1869 that these very necessary reforms were effected. The best results were, under the circumstances, impossible, but the

following statistics show the great measure of success which attended his efforts :—

			Death-rate per mille of average strength from Cholera. All other causes. All causes.		
1856	..	...	19·3	79·1	98·1
1857	...	.	21·9	100·7	122·6*
1858	...	...	17·1	105·7	122·8'
1859		..	17·4	87·2	104·6*
1860			38·4	92·5	130·9*
1861	...		14·9	74·9	89·8
1862	...	...	6·4	63·5	69·9
1863			20·5	74·3	94·8
1864	.	...	13·8	48·0	61·8
1865			9·2	45·3	54·5
1866	..	..	33·0	74·0	107·0
1867	...		9·0	49·0	58·0
1868		.	7·0	44·0	51·0
1869		..	9·3	40·7	50·0
1870	.	..	9·4	35·4	44·8
Average			16·4	67·3	83·7
1916	...	.	0·5	22·7	23·2

We have seen that, in the early days, there was no code of rules. “The rules for the guidance of officers in charge of jails were antiquated, many of them were obsolete, and the system of prison discipline adopted varied in every jail, and depended entirely in the predilection or dislike of the officer in charge for jail work” Mouat paid special attention to this matter and, borrowing largely from Dr. Hathaway’s Jail Manual of 1858, he produced, in 1864, the first edition of the Bengal Jail Code, a volume as remarkable for its grasp of administrative detail as for the clarity of its instructions. He even commenced to frame a Prison Act, but, he tells us, “as it was not required of me I neither completed nor submitted the work.” He also introduced the system of record and return on which the present admirable jail statistics are largely based.

In the space of a short article, covering the labours of fifteen years, it is impossible to do more than review

* These high figures were largely due to the great influx of mutineers, from other provinces, on their way to the Andamans. Many of them were in bad health, and some were actually moribund, on their arrival at Alipore.

hurriedly and in a disjointed manner the main points of Dr. Mouat's administration. Our object has been to show the difficulties he had to contend with and the steps he took to overcome them.

II.

ALFRED SWAYNE LETHBRIDGE (1877–1892).

An interval of seven years elapsed between the final departure of Dr. Mouat from India, in November, 1870, and the appointment of Dr. Lethbridge in December, 1877, but the intervening period was a time of great importance for the Bengal Jail Department. The increase of metropolitan crime in England, in the early sixties, had drawn attention to the shortcomings of the prison system, and the "Panic" Commission of 1863 had inaugurated a new era of increased severity. Public sentiment had hardened and the tendency towards humane methods which had become increasingly evident, was ruthlessly stifled by a new policy of repression. Inevitably the trend of public opinion in England had begun to find its reflection in India and when, in 1871, Mr., afterwards Sir, George Campbell was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, the time was ripe and the circumstances favourable for revolutionary changes. Sir George Campbell was not a Bengal man and he had little personal knowledge of the Province he was appointed to rule. He was earnest, energetic, clear-sighted and uncompromising, and had, admittedly, been selected to awaken the sleepy hollow of Bengal and to replace the old *laissez-faire* policy by a more active system of Government. Accustomed, as he was, to the comparatively well equipped and disciplined jails of other provinces, he was horrified at the laxity which prevailed in the prisons of his new charge. He did not realize the cause of the trouble or how the state of things he saw was the inevitable outcome of the starvation policy against

which Mouat had contended for fifteen weary years. He took things as he found them and in a memorable minute recorded a scathing condemnation of the whole jail system. Manufactures and sanitary considerations had been too exclusively looked to ; the judicial side of jail questions (*i.e.*, the penal effect of imprisonment and its concomitants) had been more or less lost sight of ; the punishment of short-term prisoners was not sufficiently stinging ; in subdivisional lock-ups especially, there was no punishment except restraint ; skilled workmen were put on labour which was more profitable than penal ; educated prisoners, whatever their crimes, were promoted to easy places of trust ; the prisons were generally too comfortable and classification scarcely existed. On another occasion he noted with dissatisfaction, the laxity of the paid warders, and in a third minute he condemned the existing jails as totally unsuited to any proper system of classification, describing a Bengal jail as “a complete liberty hall.”

In a biographical article, covering other periods, any detailed examination of Sir George Campbell's jail policy would be out of place. It is, however, necessary to refer to it briefly because, in the first place, it records an unbiassed contemporary criticism of Dr. Mouat's labours, and because it profoundly influenced the immediate future of penal methods in Bengal. The early death of Mouat's successor, Dr. Fawcus, opened the way to the appointment of a Civilian Inspector-General—Mr. W. L. Heeley, whose views coincided closely with those of the Lieutenant-Governor. His programme was, in short, to make punishment more stinging. But the difficulties which ever confronted Mouat were now even more insistent, and the prominence which their evil results had obtained compelled attention. Money for improvements was found in abundance. In 1872, Mr. Heeley records : “All measures aiming at classification and discipline were found to be thwarted by the defects in the buildings, while the

very first requisite in all jails—security has been set at naught in most of them. Very little money has been spent on the building or improvement of jails in Bengal for many years back. But at length, thanks to a triple combination which has never occurred before—the combination of available funds, a fuller discretion in the use of them—the result of the decentralization scheme—and a clear grasp of principles, the time has come when a good deal can be done, and a good deal accordingly is in progress of being done.” The building of the central jails was pushed on. In 1872, both Midnapore and Bhagalpore were opened, and, in 1876, after necessary alterations, Alipore, Presidency, Rajshahye, and Buxar jails were declared central jails. New model district jails were projected. Improvements were made in existing ones. The partitions thrown down by Mouat were re-erected, and fifty new cells were built at Alipore. Intermediate imprisonment was abolished, and the remission system and gratuities to released convicts, substituted. The warder question was re-examined and the Reformatory Schools’ Act settled for a time the difficulty of the youthful delinquent. In the meantime discipline was strictly enforced. Punishments increased from 32 per cent. of the daily average population to 165 per cent. in 1874, repressive punishments (whipping, cells and penal diet) rising from 16·9 to 67·6. Penal labour was introduced and Mr. P. Donaldson, the newly appointed Superintendent of Jail Manufactures, was deputed to visit the English prisons and report on the best mechanical means of carrying out compulsory industry. Treád-mills were erected at Alipore, Dacca, Hooghly, Rajshahye and Jessore, and others were under construction for five more jails. Cranks were not introduced because none was familiar with them.

But the jails were not suited for the new régime, and Dr. Mouat’s policy were soon amply vindicated. The loss of profits due to penal labour was disquieting. But

worse than this the death-rate, closely following the curve of punishment, rose rapidly from 35·4 per thousand in 1870, to 47·4 in 1874, and threatened to rise still higher. Whipping, encouraged by Mr. Heeley as the most effective form of punishment, and dietary punishments had both increased over four hundred fold. The intentions of the Lieutenant-Governor had been misunderstood. Sir George Campbell had desired to improve discipline, but not by cruelty or at the expense of health. He set his face sternly against excessive flogging, and left on record his opinion that the efficient Superintendent is he who succeeds without severe punishments.

Mr. Heeley died in 1875, and was succeeded by Major Bowie, a Police officer who lived only till August 1876, being followed by Mr. H. Beverley, C.S., who officiated until the appointment of Dr. Lethbridge on 1st December 1877. The Bengal Jail Department had thus six Inspector-Generals in seven years.

Dr. Lethbridge first joined the Department in 1871, at the request of Mr. Heeley who "discovered" him during his tour of the Punjab prisons. He was, then, officiating Superintendent of the Lahore Central Jail. Mr. Heeley offered him, and he accepted, the charge of the Bhagalpore Central Jail, then under process of construction. In 1873 he was appointed Inspector-General of Jails, Burma, which office he held until his transfer to Bengal, in a similar capacity.

It would be difficult to imagine a combination of circumstances more favourable than those which existed in Bengal, when Lethbridge took up his appointment in 1877. Most of the reforms which Mouat had planned and fought for, had arrived at fruition. The central jails were built and numerous district jails were either planned or approaching completion. The warder guard question was on the point of solution. The remission system had started on its career of usefulness. The printing press

had been removed from Alipore to the Presidency Jail, thus allowing for the development of the jute industry at the former jail and for its own expansion at the latter. The steam factories of Bhagalpore and Buxar were already planned and partially sanctioned, and the manufactures of the Province were being reorganized under the skilful guidance of Mr. Donaldson. The Reformatory at Alipore was already opened and a new and revised edition of the Jail Code had just been brought into operation. The alarming recrudescence of the death-rate under a succession of non-medical Inspector-Generals, which had only partially been recovered from under the milder rule of Sir Richard Temple, had emphasised the need of medical administration. Everything was ready for the one touch of genius to organize and co-ordinate, and that touch the new Inspector-General supplied.

Unlike Mouat, Lethbridge had had jail experience. Not much, it is true. Not enough to gain for him an insight into the human problems that underlie the evils of poverty and crime, but enough to have acquainted him with the weaker spots in the system of Bengal Jail Administration. To the strengthening of these he applied himself. Unfortunately he had not sufficient experience to rely on, and the lessons of the early seventies were, for him, as yet unlearned. His transfer to Burma had occurred before the ill effects of repressive measures had become apparent and, on his return, he was still imbued with the ideas which underlaid the changes of 1871. His first reform was to tighten the reins of discipline. Mr. Heeley, in his report of 1871, has given us some insight into Dr. Lethbridge's views on the efficacy of punishment, and he relates how the Yarkand Ambassador, when going over the Lahore Jail, had remarked: "This is all very nice, but what is the use of it? In our country we flog a man the first time and cut off his head the second and (said Mr. Heeley) Dr. Lethbridge has some hankering

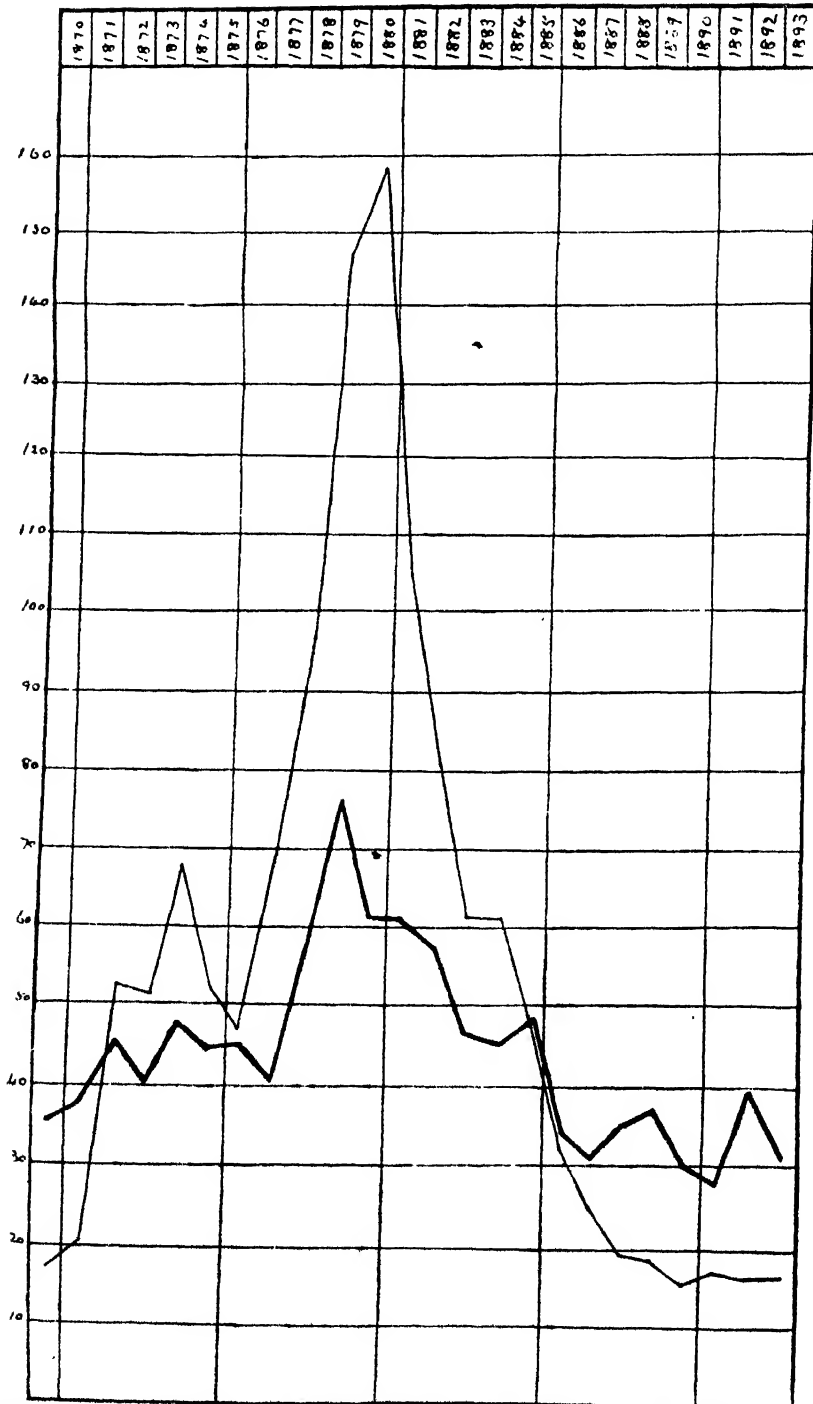
after a similar policy. At all events he would shut up habitual prisoners for life, allowing them to live family lives and training up their children to trades, as is done in the thuggee schools; and this not with the object of improving the characters of the *détenués* but to keep them out of mischief."

Lethbridge insisted that every offence, no matter how petty, should be reported and dealt with. "I hold," he said, "that as long as human nature remains what it is, any tendency to increased discipline and firmer management of a jail, must be followed by a large increase in the number of petty offences committed by the prisoners. With this increased efficiency in management, there is also generally a diminution in the graver offences and a decrease in corporal punishment may therefore be taken as a pretty good indication of how a jail is being managed." As might have been expected, human nature remaining as it was, the number of punishments began immediately to increase. From 89 per cent. on the daily average population in 1876, they rose steadily to a maximum of 421 per cent. in 1884, and repressive punishments increased from 46·9 to 158·7 per cent. in 1880. Commenting on this steady rise, Dr. Lethbridge, in 1879, said: "I do not think the present increase, extraordinary as it may appear, indicates anything more than increased efficiency in the subordinate staff. If our jails are to be made really penal institutions, this system must be still further developed."

But the increase was not merely in petty punishments. Whipping, which had fallen to 12·0 per cent. in 1876, rose rapidly to 50·3 per cent. in 1879, in which year 8,324 floggings were inflicted (there were 57 in 1916!), and in one jail alone there were 1,802 during the year. Confinement in cells rose from 4·7 per cent. in 1876 to 27·4 in 1884, and dietary punishments from 30·2 to 114·4 in 1880. Once more history repeated itself and taught again

the lesson of the early seventies, for closely following the curve of punishment, the curve of death mounted inexorably higher. The mortality rate, which Mouat had reduced to 35·4 per mille in 1870, rose steadily to 75·8 in 1879, and did not fall to the former minimum until 1886. Sir Richard Temple had deprecated excessive punishments in 1875, and, in 1878, Sir Ashley Eden had regretted that floggings were so frequently resorted to. But it was not until 1880 that Government had to intervene and threaten to restrict the disciplinary powers of Superintendents. In 1879 more than one-half of the average population had been stretched upon the triangles, and the scandal had attracted the attention of the Government of India. Correspondence ensued and official visitors were directed to make special enquiries into the subject of offences and punishments in Bengal jails. Whippings immediately declined, and, by 1881, had fallen 88 per cent. but in their place, dietary punishments rose, in 1880, to the maximum of 114·4 per cent. and once more the Government of India took action, calling for a report on the use of reduced diet as a jail punishment. At the same time they suggested the assembling of a special committee to enquire into the steady deterioration in the health of the prisoners in the Bengal jails. The death-rate, exclusive of cholera, had risen, in 1879, to 75·8 per mille, the highest it had been since 1860. Lethbridge demurred. The tide was on the turn. "Climatic causes, acting not only on the prisoners in jail, but on the free population from which those jails receive their prisoners, has been the main cause of sickness."

In the foregoing remarks, stress has been laid on the evident relationship between the curves of mortality and repressing punishments. But there were other factors contributing. The penal labour, introduced, in 1872, to make the punishment of short-term prisoners more stinging, caused, as Lethbridge himself confessed, more injury than mere loss of weight. But another and even more

BENGAL JAILS.

Death-rate per mille of daily average population, excluding cholera.—Thick line.
 Repressive punishment-rate per cent. (Whipping, cells, dietary).—Thin line.

important factor had been introduced by the Jail Conference of 1877, in a serious reduction in diet, "not specially as a measure of economy, but as one of discipline, to enhance the penal rigour of short sentences." The combination of penal labour with reduced diet and repressive punishment more than justified expectations. Sentences became more penal. Discipline was excellent and—the death-rate testified to both! Another lesson had been learnt, and, in 1880, Lethbridge recorded the opinion that "if penal labour is to be exacted, and discipline made more strict, prisoners must be sufficiently fed." Again was Mouat avenged. The policy of the Jail Conference was discarded; a more generous dietary was sanctioned; the number of the meals was increased to three, and penal labour was restricted to the more seasoned prisoners of longer term.

Besides the value of the lessons learned, one good result remained to benefit succeeding generations of convicts, and that is the system of fortnightly weighments of all prisoners. It was introduced in the dark days of 1879, when the rapid increase in the mortality was painfully evident. Dr. Lethbridge, later, claimed the reform as one of his greatest improvements, as indeed it was, for it affords an unerring standard by which to judge the fitness of prisoners for labour.

Apart from the published reports, the interest of the public, in jail matters, had been stimulated by the trial, in the Calcutta High Court, of a convict for an unprovoked and murderous assault on the Deputy Superintendent of the Presidency Jail. The prisoner was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life. Not long afterwards anonymous attacks on the Superintendent of the Jail were taken up by a local newspaper and a special enquiry was ordered in 1884. But its scope was limited to one jail where severity was already on the wane. The Superintendent was exonerated, except on a minor point. But

the result was beneficial and severity disappeared for ever from the records of Bengal jails. Yet for many years afterwards, a certain section of the Calcutta Press maintained a scarcely veiled hostility to the Jail Department, which it attacked from time to time, notably in 1886, when an agitation was raised against the death-rate. But by that time the mortality had fallen to reasonable proportions and the attack had missed its opportunity.

The very favourable conditions, which greeted Lethbridge on his assumption of office, have already been noticed. But his good fortune was not confined to mere material matters, it extended to the officers with whom he found himself associated, notably Mr. P. Donaldson, the first Superintendent of Jail Manufactures, Mr. A. D. Larymore, then Superintendent of the Midnapore Central Jail, and Mr. W. Leonard, his Personal Assistant. Donaldson was an engineer of great capacity and an inventor of no mean order. His wide knowledge of the conditions of labour in English prisons, concerning which he submitted an elaborate report in 1874, and his organizing genius, were the basis on which the Bengal jails rose to their later industrial eminence. His inventions, many of which were patented, were numerous and advanced considerably the cause of sanitation. His latrine, in particular, completely revolutionized the old bad system. He also modified the unspeakable crank into an extremely useful oil-mill. Leonard's talents were more of the literary and administrative order. His position, as Personal Assistant, afforded him a large insight into the needs of the department and much of the present organization is due to him. In particular, the Jail Code of 1882 was largely his work. Both he and Donaldson were rewarded by promotion to the charge of central jails. Larymore was a Superintendent of wide experience, with a gift for invention, which he was able to turn to account in the workshops at Alipore, where

he evolved numerous improvements in jail appliances, notably in those devoted to the preparation of food. His cooking arrangements have never been improved upon and his greatest achievement—the Larymore boiler has had, probably, more to do with the lower death-rate of recent years than any other single reform. He also invented an ejector truck for passing filth through the jail walls, thus obviating its carriage through the gates. This simple and perfect appliance is now fitted to all jails.

In the foregoing pages we have dwelt rather on the negative side of Lethbridge's administration. It is a relief, therefore, to turn to the other side of the shield and to review the reforms which were, more particularly, his own. In the first place, he completely reorganized the subordinate jail service, abolishing the miscellaneous and badly paid appointments of English writers, mohurrirs and naib jailers. He introduced the present graded staff, and insisted on every candidate passing the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. And he raised the pay all round. The result of this was, he claimed, "that we have now a highly trained subordinate staff who have accepted the jail service as a career for life. Only those who know what the jail service was in the days when any casual applicant was accepted as a jail officer can appreciate the difference in the quality of the work done at present. The pay of all grades has been raised, and no subordinate officer receives less than Rs. 40, rising to Rs. 50, a month." This reform was, doubtless, excellent, in so far as it replaced a system thoroughly bad by one incomparably better, but by combining clerical with executive duties, it initiated a new system which produced neither jailers nor clerks, and which, with the ever increasing clerical work of later days, has not been without its disadvantages.

The warder guard was even more thoroughly overhauled, "the unconcerned police sentry on the jail wall

and the slovenly burkundaz on Rs. 5 managing one or two hundred prisoners" was replaced by a semi-military, graded service of trained and disciplined men, with better pay and prospects. This reform was essentially the realization of Mouat's proposals, but it had a far-reaching effect on discipline, and when, later, the administration of the guards was vested in the superintendents of central jails, in the circle system, great strides had been made towards perfection. At the same time the convict-officer system, to which we have already referred, was extended and new grades introduced with "most encouraging results." To do this the conditions of eligibility had to be lowered and the reformatory idea completely abandoned, but the effect on discipline was good, and, above all, it was economical.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, internal discipline was tightened. Every offence had to be registered and dealt with. The personal responsibility of the guards was insisted on and the old lax order completely abolished. A system of jail parades was introduced, and the prisoners were taught the rudiments of drill. Duties were performed with military precision, and the character of imprisonment in association was completely changed. "Under this system (says Lethbridge) the actions of a prisoner are completely under control at all hours of the day, and there can be no question that imprisonment has thereby been rendered more penal." Indulgences, in the shape of extra food, tobacco, etc., which had formerly been given to deserving prisoners, were stopped and, on the recommendation of Dr. Lethbridge, gratuities to released convicts were, on the score of economy, abolished. The annual expenditure under this head had only reached the insignificant total of Rs. 1,673, a small sum in comparison with the good effected. On the other hand, the remission system was extended and simplified and the prisoners made to understand its value. Later on, after

Lethbridge's time it was still more simplified, though more restricted, yet the remission system, as practised in Indian jails, is the most valuable incentive to good conduct and industry that exists in any prison system.

The improvement in manufactures has already been noticed. The great industries of the large central jails became, not only a great financial success but also, a valuable means of inculcating habits of usefulness and industry in a population little accustomed to either. In every branch the same advance is noted. Good food, pure water, better clothing, better medical arrangements, and above all better buildings, all combined to make Dr. Lethbridge's later régime the most successful in India. And when, in 1892, his services were placed at the disposal of the Government of India in the Home Department, the *Calcutta Gazette* recorded an appreciation of his valuable services to Bengal, saying that he had justly won for himself the reputation of a most able and efficient head of the Jail Department, and that his name will always be associated with the great improvements which, in recent times, had been effected in Jail Administration in India.

Not Bengal alone but India, and not India only but civilization in general owe a great debt to Alfred Swayne Lethbridge, for it was he who demonstrated the possibilities of the Association system, and at a time, too, when Western nations were obsessed with the specious advantages of the Separate and the Separate-Associated systems. His genius for organization and co-ordination, not only rescued Bengal from the slough in which he found it, but gave to India, in the Prisons Act of 1894, the realization of the principle that in certain essentials, prison systems must run on uniform lines. His talents were administrative. He was not a criminologist nor a penologist in the sense that Mouat was. He does not appear to have studied as Mouat studied. He was, in his ideas about punishment, a product of his times.

He accepted without question the theories then in vogue. And his application of those theories to practice led, under the existing circumstances, to dire disaster. The first three years of his administration are a record of failure. But his good fortune never deserted him. He was allowed ample time to profit by his mistakes, and to retrieve the errors into which he had fallen, and in this lay the secret of his success. Unlike Mouat, he was a man of tact, and he had the faculty of using to the best advantage the materials which lay to his hand. He was not original, but he shaped and perfected the work of others. He did not build, he finished, but everything he touched, he brought as near perfection as the circumstances of his times permitted. His great predecessor Mouat, was called upon to make bricks without straw and failed, simply because he was denied the essentials of success. But Mouat, too, was a genius—a constructive genius of the first order. He also was not original, but he selected the best of other systems, and if he did not apply them to his purpose, the responsibility does not rest with him. If he was not provided with the requisite straw, he, at least, collected and puddled the clay. He planned the building and dug the foundations. That his labours never obtained adequate acknowledgment, and that his last official years were embittered, was undoubtedly due to his want of tact which led him into unpardonable indiscretions. His herculean labours went for nought and if indeed he was not actually blamed he was certainly not rewarded. Lethbridge was honoured and justly, but his work was the complement of Mouat's. Both were great men and able administrators. Both accomplished to the limits of possibility, and when, in 1892, Lethbridge gave up the reins of office, he had brought to fruition all that Mouat had worked for, but perfected and stamped by his own inimitable genius.

JOHN MULVANY.

A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHEME FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

BY J. N. DAS GUPTA.

THOSE were the days of Utopias—the fifties of the last Century; and many are the dreams which were dreamt and various are the schemes which were then put forth for the further advancement of British India. One such scheme for the education of the Indian population was placed before the British public in 1853. It is but an outline of a scheme and the details are not thought out and developed. Yet, skeleton as it is, the scheme has an interest of its own, and it is not without its significance to the historical student and the educational reformer in India. It is here reproduced, especially in view of the fact that Indian educational problems are now attracting wide-spread attention.

“The first kind of information which the present race of Indians, and the great bulk of the people most need, is the *useful*—the ornamental may follow after. But, in all the attempts hitherto made, their teachers have begun at the wrong end. Years devoted to Sanscrit, a dead and obsolete language for all practical purposes, are time thrown away; nor is it hardly more usefully bestowed in teaching the youths of India to read Milton and Shakespeare—whose beauties they must find it difficult to comprehend, and which might well give place to humbler beginnings. Something like the following, perhaps, might be the order of their studies :—

1. Reading and writing the English language correctly.
2. Arithmetic in all its branches.

3. Physiology, and the Laws of Health.
4. Geometry, Surveying, and Drawing.
5. Agriculture, Gardening, and Botany.
6. Geology and Natural History.
7. Chemistry and its practical applications.
8. Architecture and Civil Engineering.
9. The new Code of laws for India.
10. Geography, History and Astronomy.
11. Political Economy and the Laws of Commerce.
12. Natural Theology and Moral Philosophy.

“This would appear to be the natural order in which the subjects might be most advantageously taught, with reference to their respective importance or utility, and the constantly improving capacity which increasing age and augmented knowledge would give the Natives to comprehend and enjoy them; leaving their respective religious educations to be conducted by their own religious teachers, apart from the school—the only mode by which persons of such different faiths could ever be educated together.

“Schools of the humblest kind, for children, for youths, and for adults, might be opened in every town and village of any size in India; and one teacher of each sex would be sufficient for the first three subjects at least—as both sexes should be taught thus far, though separately. The education for each might then be carried on by other teachers, as far in the list as the circumstances of leisure and position in life of the pupils would allow; some leaving off at No. 3, as all should proceed thus far, and others proceeding a step or two further; only the more fortunate, as to leisure and means, continuing to the end.

“To the poor, the education should be gratuitous; to all others, at the most moderate rate, barely sufficient to cover the expense of materials, in books, objects, etc.; but as the monitorial system of teaching originated in India, and is often called the Madras system—the one mostly now

known as the Lancasterian, or Bell and Lancaster's—so the elder and better instructed pupils would teach the younger as far as they could go, and the cost would be trifling. Village schools abound in India already among the Natives, and almost all the Indian servants of the British residents can write in their vernacular—whether Bengalee, Hindosthanee, or Tamul. All that would be necessary, therefore, would be to place, in connection with such schools, and to multiply them when necessary, two competent teachers of the English language, to begin : so that their mother tongue and the tongue of their rulers would be the only languages indispensable for the pupils to study ; and through these, all the useful information to be acquired by their further studies under other teachers, could easily be conveyed.

“No outlay that the Government could make, in thus placing the means of useful education within the reach of all the people of India, would be more speedily or more abundantly remunerated than this, in the increased intelligence and skill of its millions of subjects,—in improved agriculture, manufactures, and every other branch of human industry,—and in the consequent increase of wealth.”

The scheme, it will be observed, lays stress on the importance of a systematic study of Agriculture as also of Chemistry and its applications. At the same time, it does not overlook the claims of Political Economy and the Laws of Commerce. Further, it recognises the difficulties attendant on the imparting of religious instruction in a land of many faiths like India. It advocates the establishment of a network of village schools and urges that Primary Education should be “gratuitous.” All these topics continue to engage the attention of educational reformers and are noteworthy aspects of the Indian Educational problem to-day.

J. N. DAS GUPTA.

Calcutta.

THE POST OFFICE IN INDIA.

BY GOKULNATH, DHAR.

ONE of the blessings of British rule in India is the inauguration of the Postal System. We expect, as a matter of course, that a letter sent out from one end of India should, on payment of the trifling sum of two pice, travel safely and in due time to its destination at the other end, and only double the amount would enable us to communicate across the deep seas with any town in Great Britain : we fret and complain if a letter miscarries or is at all late. It is natural, therefore, that we are rather surprised at the state of affairs obtaining in ante-British days.

In early times under native rule letters were conveyed by couriers known in different parts of the country by the different names of *Kāsid*, *patamar* and *harkāra*, relays of couriers or other methods of conveyance being stationed at various stages. Considerable improvements were made on the system of relays by the native rulers, and the Honourable East India Company stuck to the system for a number of years. It is astounding to learn how exorbitant were the postage charges in the early days of the Company's rule. A letter sent from Calcutta to Barrackpore in 1795 which weighted two-and-a-half tolas or less had to pay one anna as postage ; one of the same weight and destined for Benares seven annas, for Patna five annas, for Hyderabad twelve annas, for Bombay one rupee and nine annas ; and the tax payable was doubled for an additional tola, trebled for another tola in addition, and so on. At the same time, private letters or packages destined for England were "taxed with the payment of four sicca rupees," the amount

chargeable for heavier letters varying as the square of the number of ounces which they exceeded in weight. For the safe transmission of Company's bonds or promissory notes from one part of the country to another it was officially announced on the 20th February, 1795, that bonds or notes might be tendered at a Post Office in an unsealed envelope addressed to the person to whom they were to be forwarded ; the Post Office received the notes, etc., and entered full details of the documents in a register and the envelope was sealed in the presence of the sender or his agent. It should be remembered that all postal charges were payable in cash and in advance. When letters arrived in Calcutta from Europe the addressees had to pay eight annas for every letter " not above twelve sicca weight " and one rupee for every letter above that weight.

In 1795 was published "a Map of the Post roads through Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Oudh, Allahabad, Agra and Delhi ; with the rates of postage from Calcutta." The roads in those early days were insecure and officers were in many instances led by curiosity to tamper with the correspondence passing through their hands ; the rate of postage, as has been seen already, was almost prohibitive. These various causes conspired to make the amount of correspondence rather scanty. A list was published of Calcutta letters despatched in November 1795 to Bhagalpur and Monghyr which were all lost by the postal boat having been upset ; it showed that " there were *four* private and *four* service letters for Boglepoor, besides one copy of the *Morning Post* and twelve magazines. To Monghyr there were *three* private and *two* service letters and eight magazines." So much for the inland post. Between England and India communication was in a more wretched condition than can possibly be imagined : " a letter was four, five, six, perhaps seven months on its way. . . . This was disheartening and repelling.

Correspondence even between intimate friends and dear relatives soon flagged ; fell off by degrees ; and ere long ceased altogether." It should be borne in mind, however, that there were no railways and steamers in those days and letters had to be carried mainly by country-boats, horses and camels.

The Post Office as at present constituted was established in England in December 1660 during the reign of Charles II. But it was not till 1837 that any serious effort was made to cheapen the rates of postage. Early that year Mr. Rowland Hill broached his plan of *penny postage* which was adopted by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1839. The regular Post Office was established in India under the provisions of Act XVII of 1837 and "the Government reserved to itself the exclusive right to convey letters for payment in the territories of the East India Company." Postmasters were appointed to look after the working of post offices in the Presidency towns, while the charge of District post offices and local mail lines was entrusted to Collectors. The postal rates, however, were still very heavy (as instances in point, it may be mentioned that "the charge for sending a letter from Calcutta to Bombay was one rupee, and from Calcutta to Agra 12 annas, per tola") and it was not till 1854 that things were made smooth in this direction. In the year above quoted the Indian Postal Act (Act XVII of 1854) replaced Act XVII of 1837 and laid down the foundation of the Postal Department as we have it now in India. The rate of postage for letters weighing not more than a quarter tola was fixed at half anna throughout the country irrespective of distance. The Postal Department was thoroughly organised and a Director-General was placed at the head of the establishment ; the different provinces were at the same time each provided with a Postmaster-General. By 1860 there grew up about one thousand post offices and

agencies which distributed from house to house in the course of the year some fifty million letters and covers "at a lower rate of postage for a single letter than in any other country in the world." With regard to the number of men employed in the Postal Department at that time it may be observed that the total came up to 25,000,—11,000 of them being clerks. The mails were conveyed "by railway, 10,046 miles; by mail cart and on horseback, 5,740 miles; by runners and boats, 36,784 miles,—total, 43,570 miles."

The postal roads in the early days were beset with many inconveniences and difficulties; from the nature of the country these seemed almost insurmountable. "Hardly a rainy season passes but some railway is breached by floods or a railway bridge is broken down; hardly a dry season passes but the course of some steamer service is stopped for want of water." Besides, many of the postal roads which ran through jungles were infested by wild beasts and robbers, and it not unfrequently happened that a postal runner fell a prey to their greed.

Our ancestors had hitherto been in the habit of sending letters through some friend or relative who might be travelling to or through the place where the person written to was a resident, and who was well known to the party who brought him the letters. They were not therefore mindful of putting down the address. After the establishment of post offices, it appeared that several letters had on them no address at all, while there were many with insufficient address. The utmost stretch of imagination was of little avail to find out the addressees of a letter superscribed "To the lotus-feet of my elder brother the most worshipful Nabakrishna" which had no name of town on it, or of one with the superscription "To the happy Kadambini Baishnabi at Rama's house, Calcutta, near Sahebuddin's shop." Another grave difficulty was presented by people "using the flimsiest of paper folded into the minutest

compass." The difficulty was aggravated by both sides of the cover having been used in writing out the address with superfluous description of the sender's relationship to the addressee, and post marks having been impressed on the address for want of space. The intelligence of the Postal Department was severely taxed in deciphering these addresses. To counteract this evil envelopes were introduced in 1873 with half-anna and one-anna embossed stamps and saleable at the nominal value of the stamps.

Within a few years of its establishment the Postal Department was found to be a source of considerable income to Government: the advantage to the people of the country was at the same time immense. With a view to increasing this advantage and adding more to Government coffers the rates of postage were made to undergo some changes at different times. At the outset (in 1854) an inland letter weighing not more than a quarter tola was charged half an anna for postage; one weighing half a tola had to pay one anna, and for heavier letters "the scale progressed by two annas per tola, and thereafter by one anna per half a tola." The above rates were first changed in 1869 when it was ruled that half an anna would be charged as postage for letters weighing half a tola or less; similarly, each of the other rates of postages could carry double the weight so long allowed. In April 1905 the postage rates underwent another revision and the weight allowed for half an anna was raised to three-quarters of a tola; above this weight the postal charge was fixed at one anna for a tola and a half. Books and printed matter were originally charged at one anna for 10 tolas; since 1878 the above weight requires only half the amount for transmission. The lowest postal charge for newspapers was one anna for 6 tolas until 1898, when the rates for a registered newspaper were reduced: " $\frac{1}{4}$ anna was made the inland rate for a registered newspaper not exceeding 4 tolas in

weight,—and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna the rate for a registered newspaper exceeding 4 but not exceeding 20 tolas, while an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ anna was charged on every additional 20 tolas or part of that weight. The weight allowed for $\frac{1}{4}$ anna was raised to 6 tolas in January, 1904.” The Parcels Post and the Value-Payable Post were introduced in 1870 and 1877, respectively,—some fifteen to twenty years after the Postal Department was started. The practice of registering letters, etc., had come into vogue as soon as the Post Office was established; but the method of insurance was adopted in 1878 “mainly in order to separate valuable articles from the rest of the mail.” In July, 1879, was introduced the one-pice inland postcard “which is now much the most popular medium of private correspondence in India.”

The Money Order Department was added to the Post Office in 1880. In former years a person willing to remit money to a distance had to purchase an order (not exceeding Rs. 150) from the District treasury on payment of about one per cent. as commission; he would then send this order by post—registered, to avoid loss—to the payee who got the money on presenting it to the treasury of his district. On the transfer of the Money Order system to the Post Office the maximum amount remittable was raised to Rs. 600 (as the work so long done by 321 treasuries could now be managed by 5,090 Post Offices), but the rate of commission remained unaltered. Within three months the income had increased fourfold, while the cost of the remitter was also reduced, as he had no “order” to send by post any more.

Post Office Savings Banks were first opened in 1882. Government had already opened Savings Banks at the Presidency towns in 1833-35; they were entrusted to the care of Presidency Banks in 1863-64, and finally abolished in 1896. As soon as the Postal Savings Banks were opened they became very popular: interest was allowed at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per

cent. per annum. In 1894-95 the rate of interest was lowered to $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and from July 1905 it has been further reduced to 3 per cent. The annual amount allowed to be deposited in cash had initially been fixed at Rs. 500, the total amount standing to a depositor's credit not exceeding Rs. 3,000: in 1889-90 the above amounts were reduced to Rs. 200 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

The operations of the Telegraph Department are too varied to be adequately dealt with here. Suffice it to say that telegraph lines were first constructed in India in 1851; in 1883 several Post Offices were converted into "combined post and telegraph offices, with the telegraph branches worked by the postmasters or post-office clerks." The scheme developed so rapidly that in twenty years out of "2,127 Government telegraph offices, 1,859 were combined with post offices, while 4,833 other post offices were authorised to receive telegrams from the public, and to send them free by post to the nearest telegraph office to be signalled."

The Indian Postal Department entered the Universal Postal Union in 1876,—one year after the Union had come into existence. In 1892 the Standard Union rates were applied to correspondence between India and all parts of the world. The scheme providing "a uniform rate of postage at the rate of a penny per half ounce on letters throughout the British Empire" was adopted in India in 1898. Arrangements had been made in 1873 for carrying parcels to and from England; "in 1899 India joined the International Parcel Post Union." The Money Order Department provides for the transmission of money to and from foreign countries; while at the same time British Postal orders for small sums (introduced in 1884) are available for payment "in the United Kingdom and at certain British post offices in foreign countries,"

The Indian Postal Department is mainly staffed by natives, Europeans being recruited for the highest appointments only. The Director-General is the head of the establishment which is a branch of the Commerce and Industry Department of the Government of India. The Director-General is assisted by a Deputy Director-General and three Assistant Director-Generals. The country is divided into eleven postal circles, six of which are controlled by Postmaster-Generals and five by Deputy Postmaster-Generals. The Postmaster-General in each circle has Superintendents and Inspectors acting under him. Postal accounts are in the charge of the Comptroller, Post Office, who has three Deputy Comptrollers to assist in the work. The Inspector-General, Railway Mail Service, supervises "branch of the Post Office which deals with the sorting and disposal of mails during transit by rail." Besides the above establishment there are about 10,500 clerks, some 20,000 postmen and other servants, about the same number on the road establishment, about 10,000 village postmen and 3,000 signallers and other servants on telegraph work in combined Post and Telegraph Offices.

GOKULNATH DHAR.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

PERSONALITY.—By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. (Macmillan and Co.)

This consists of a series of lectures delivered in America. The book will not greatly enhance the author's reputation. The main ideas have already been expressed in others of his writings while by far the most interesting of the lectures—"My School" has already been anticipated in "Shantineketan"—the work of close friend and colleague of Sir Rabindranath. We must confess also that it is a little difficult to read a book in which no fewer than six photographs of the author appear within the narrow compass of 184 pages.

The leading idea seems to be the importance of unhampered personality. It is by removing the restriction of so-called civilization that we get nearer the divine and can express something of the love and joy which are in the heart of God. In the world of creative Art especially we establish harmony with the Supreme Person. "Life is perpetual creation; it has its truth when it outgrows itself in the infinite." It is easy to see that this doctrine of unhampered development would have special influence upon the educational theory which the writer unfolds in the lecture on "My School." These opinions are formed in the school of adversity. The experiences of his own school days give rise to a protest against the prevailing type of education which "snatches away children from a world full of the mystery of God's own handiwork, full of the suggestiveness of personality." True education should not merely give us information, but bring us into harmony with all existence, especially the world of nature. Even the physical contact of the unshod feet with the earth may teach something to the boy. Generally speaking wealth and comfort are barriers. The boy should live for a period the life of the primitive man, should obtain a precious respite before civilization snatches him away from "the open arms of earth, water and sky," and the later stages of

his education should follow the same long process of gradual unfolding. There is much that is attractive in the theory, but one is tempted to ask whether the element of discipline has not been disregarded and whether pruning may not sometimes be the only method of producing the best growth of the tree?

THE DESERT TRAIL.—By Dane Coolidge. (Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a tale of wild adventure in Mexico, which country is, as usual, in a troubled state. The incidents are not woven closely together and the character drawing is of the slightest. Local colour depends largely upon the use of Spanish or Mexican ejaculations. The book does not create an intense desire to go to Mexico.

HAMPI RUINS.—Described and illustrated by A. H. Longhurst, pp. VI and 144.

This delightful little volume from the pen of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of the Archæological Department, Southern Circle, comes as a surprise to the students of Indian antiquities. The Archæological Department is generally so absorbed with its gigantic excavations and stupendous publications that lay readers dare not dream that the august department would condescend to write any popular and easily available volume like the present one of Mr. Longhurst. Judged from this standpoint, the *Hampi Ruins* marks a new departure in the history of the publication of the Archæological Department. Its freedom from technicalities and unintelligible archæological digressions, its careful selection and arrangement of details, its lucidity and warmth of narration make it an ideal popular monograph on an Archæological subject.

The subject matter here has a charm of its own. Hampi Ruins mark the site of the once glorious capital of the Great Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagara—the last flicker of the lamp of Hindu civilization amidst the storm of Islamic invasion and occupation. Sultan Mahmud, the Iconoclast, appeared in the horizon of Indian History in 1000 A.D. By 1200 A.D., within two centuries, the whole of Northern India had fallen victim to Muhammadan domination which spelt ruin to independent development of Hindu culture

and art. Orissa managed to preserve its independence for a few years more ; hence we get the inimitable Konarak temple of Narasimhadeva as late as the 13th century A.D. — marking the culmination of the Northern Indian style and the practical termination of the independent development of Hindu art. Curiously enough Vijayanagar marks a splendid Hindu parenthesis in that history of transition from the mediæval Moslem epoch to the modern European epoch of Indian history.

Founded in 1336, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar maintained a perpetual conflict with the Bahmni Kingdom of Deccan till all the Muhammadan powers combined to crush the Hindu power in the battle of Talikot in 1565. An offshoot of the royal family retired to Chandragiri and it was there that a king of this line granted to Francis Day the land on which Fort Saint George in Madras now stands.

In course of these centuries of vigorous political life Vijayanagar kings throughout preserved the tradition of ancient Hindu Catholicity, and the Hindu sense of the Sublime and the Beautiful. In 1368 King Bukka Raya brought about a reconciliation between the Jain and the Vaishnavas, ordaining that “they should each pursue their own religious practices with equal freedom.” Mathava, the famous philosopher, was the first minister of the new state under King Harihara Sāyana, the immortal commentator of the Vedas, and the brother of Mādhava was the minister of another king. The earliest manuscripts of the Vedic literature collected by Professor Max Müller of Oxford came down from the Vijayanagar school of Vedic studies. The Hindu artists of that age had the boldness to borrow openly from foreigners nay even from their enemies the Muhammadans, thus producing an Indian version of the Indo-Saracenic style. King Krishna Deva (1509-1530) “requested the Governor of Goa to depute some Portuguese stone masons to come to Vijayanagar” and the Governor sent him Joao della Ponte, “a great worker in stone.” At the same time the plans of the ruined palaces and fortifications, the Audience Hall, the great aqueducts and the sublime temple architecture illustrated by the Pampāpati temple, the Anantasayana temple or the Vitthala temple, amply demonstrated the originality of the Hindu art of Vijayanagar and justify the pains taken by Mr. Longhurst in introducing those deathless specimens of a buried civilization to the public.

K. D. N.

A DEFENCE OF IDEALISM.—By May Sinclair.
(Macmillan & Co.)

Those who are familiar with the novels of this writer—and one of them, at least, “The Divine Fire,” should not be overlooked—will welcome her appearance in the new *role* of philosophical critic. The book consists of a series of essays of unequal length, somewhat loosely held together by the general idea which is indicated by the title. The style is vivid and forcible, but a rather excessive liking for epigram and allusion is not always conducive to clearness.

The opening chapters include, amongst other things, a criticism of the pan-psychism of Samuel Butler and of certain doctrines of Bergson, and Miss Sinclair takes forcible and repeated objection to all attempts to base the Self upon memory. But the really important part of the book is reached in the chapters on “Pragmatism and Humanism” and on “The New Realism.” From the point of view of an idealistic monist many criticisms are directed against the pragmatic and idealistic position. Miss Sinclair protests against the pragmatic doctrine that monism is a thin theory and contends that the latter does not in the least detract from pragmatic values. It is rather pragmatism which diminishes value in that it does not even hint at any solution of the dilemmas of the actual. The pragmatist objection that belief in the absolute “does not pay” is beside the point, for the absolute may retort that he never expected the absolute “to pay” him and that he is out to discover truth for truth’s sake alone.

One of the most important arguments of Humanism is that monism lands us in a non-moral pantheism. If God is All or All-mighty, then, seeing that there is evil in the world, He cannot be good. The humanist prefers to sacrifice belief in the All-mightiness of God in order that he may retain His goodness. Thus God is a struggling God, struggling with limited powers against evil. In this connection Miss Sinclair has an interesting reference to one of Mr. H. G. Wells’ recent novels, “Mr. Britling sees it through,” and points out that Mr. Wells is really unfolding the theory of the humanist. And this theory is not satisfactory. It is unfair to the monist, for after all, a God who is *both* good and evil—even if this were the ultimate monistic position—is not a God who is evil. In any case the monist does not

regard evil as an ultimate reality which cannot be transcended. Neither does the humanist when he is at his best, for he professes to believe in a final victory of the good over evil, and is not this simply a tribute to an ultimate unity which, at the outset, the humanist affected to despise. Unless the humanist can arrive at such a unity, ethics is doomed to degenerate into a theory which identifies the good with the useful or the pleasant.

Miss Sinclair is at her best in her criticism of the New Realism, and anyone who wishes to gain an idea of the position of Mr. Bertrand Russell and his followers as well as to have his eyes opened to some of the defects of their theories, would do well to study this chapter. The doctrine of realism has done good service in combating the abstractions of the older idealism and in proving the reality and continuity of space and time. It has shown with a certain amount of conclusiveness that the laws of mathematics are not merely hypotheses but can be taken to apply to a real space, in which movement—real movement—may take place, for the reason that time is real. Our sense data also and our perceptions of both primary and secondary qualities may be planted out in a real world. Even the universals which we make use of in our judgments have objective reality. Consciousness has no constructive power. It is simply a spectator and looks on while the whole world of our knowledge is unfolded before it. Concepts are not thought-relations, but entities, objects of conception independent of the conceiver. The only work left to consciousness is the formulation of æsthetic and moral feelings. All other work is done apart from and independently of consciousness.

Miss Sinclair points out that the chief objection to this theory is that it ignores the unity which our knowledge actually has. After all, our experience has a unity and it is useless to object to this unity, or, in other words it is useless to object to some kind of ultimate Monism. Further it is difficult to draw the line between feelings which are admitted to be the work of consciousness and mere sense of perception which is alleged *not* to be the work of consciousness. The realist may argue that the fire is hot and not the idealist, but as the fire gets hotter and hotter, pain is the result, and this is admitted even by the realist. Finally the realistic theory of universals may be turned to account by idealism. For, after all, the realist has returned to the position of Plato, and did not Plato regard

the universals as belonging to the heavenly kingdom of thought? The world in which these universals are realised is a world which owes its origin or at least its meaning to Spiritual Unity.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that on "The New Mysticism." Miss Sinclair's friendship with 'Evelyn Underhill,' to whom she dedicates her book, and whom she rightly regards as one of the greatest authorities on Mysticism, does not prevent her disagreeing with the latter in her estimate of the phases of Catholic mysticism. She regards the latter as vitiated by an incurable dualism and by an incapacity to perceive the immediate beauty and joy of the world. She takes Sir Rabindranath Tagore and his forerunner Kabir as types of the healthy-minded mysticism which bases itself upon the positive phase of pantheism. But she does not seem to realise how very far this is from representing the older current of Indian thought with its negative tendency towards a withdrawal from the world of natural beauty into absorption in a characterless absolute. Neither does she realise how impossible it is to extract from the doctrine of Maya the amount of meaning for the world which her own theory of pantheism demands and which can be the only foundation of the beauty of the world which is able to satisfy and be an abiding source of joy. And after all Catholic mysticism is not the only mysticism which is associated with Christianity, nor is asceticism confined to the Catholic west. The finest mysticism of Christianity is positive, based upon a firm belief in the love of God for the world.

Miss Sinclair's treatment of immortality, and, in fact, her whole concluding chapter is most unsatisfactory, but these defects do not make impossible the judgment that in this volume of essays we have an important contribution to philosophy.

MY REMINISCENCES.—By Sir Rabindranath Tagore.
(Macmillan and Co.)

There are some who think that the literary output of Sir Rabindranath has been rather too prolific in recent months, but we would not willingly do without the volume before us. The book is not a new one, as readers of Bengali have been familiar with it for some years, but

they as well as others will welcome it in its English form, and the fact that the work is a translation is not unduly obvious.

The incidents treated of are not important in themselves, but they have been selected with discrimination and put together with great literary skill. They do not constitute an autobiography; they are rather pictures which have taken shape in memory and in the form in which they are presented they are worthy of a place in literature.

We get the impression of a somewhat erratic childhood, spent largely in the company of servants. This is a little surprising in view of the criticism often passed by Bengalis upon Europeans. The former often hint at the hard-heartedness of the latter and at their readiness to endure separation from parents and children. But here we have a picture of a Bengali household in which the children seem to live in a world almost apart from the senior members of their own families. Even the part of the house in which these live is a forbidden territory, and one of the children, who wishes to obtain some slight request, is described as "managing to screw up courage enough to volunteer to mention this to my father."

Yet the childhood seems happy enough. The education given is not regular, but it is full of interest, and the young boy is allowed to indulge in a vast amount of miscellaneous reading. He has a useful reflection upon children's books,— "children's books should be such as can partly be understood by them and partly not. . . . The child makes its own what it understands, while that which is beyond leads it on a step forward."

In the Tagore circle there was much literary activity, writing of articles both in English and Bengali, editing of magazines, production of plays and so on, and the future poet could not fail to be influenced. His own essays in the field of literature began at a very early period, but he has the grace to be thankful that many of these youthful efforts have disappeared into the unknown "leaving no address behind." It is interesting to discover the impression made by Bankim Babu both personally and in his works, and the description of how the members of the Tagore household used to watch and wait for the next instalment of his stories reminds us of the reception given in England to the serial form of Dickens' greatest novels.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the description of an early visit to England. We are struck by the scrupulous fairness and generosity with which the poet describes his experiences. He speaks enthusiastically of the heartfelt kindness he received. He was particularly struck by the honesty and trustworthiness of the people and the trust placed in him—an unknown stranger. "What grew chiefly upon me," he says, "was the conviction that only those who are trustworthy know how to trust. I was an unknown foreigner and could easily have evaded payment with impunity. Yet no London shop-keeper even mistrusted me." He mentions only one instance of failure of hospitality, but is careful to suggest that this is by no means typical. One hopes that Sir Rabindranath has not altogether forgotten his earlier attitude towards things British and the British people.

The reminiscences which date from his return to India are more purely literary, and perhaps the descriptions of the evolution of some of his published works are a little too minute to be altogether attractive. There is more interest in his comparison of European and Indian music. Sir Rabindranath is one of the few people who can base a comparison of Indian and European music upon a thorough knowledge of both, and his opinion, though not perhaps altogether unbiassed, is worthy of the most careful attention. "I am convinced that our music and theirs abide in altogether different compartments and do not gain entry to the heart by the self-same door. European music seems to be intertwined with its material life, so that the text of its songs may be as various as that life itself. If we attempt to put our tunes to the same variety of use, they tend to lose their significance, and become ludicrous: for our melodies transcend the barriers of everyday life, and only thus can they carry us so deep into Pity, so high into Aloofness, their function being to reveal a picture of the inmost inexpressible depths of our being, mysterious and impracticable, where the devotee may find his hermitage ready, or even the epicurean his bower, but where there is no room for the busy man of the world."

The mystical strain which is here indicated is strong throughout the book. It is difficult to keep this pure and to prevent it from degenerating into emotionalism. Sir Rabindranath is aware of this danger both for individual and social life. He speaks, for example, of

a friend who "felt no call to search for ultimate reality, and for whom whatever moved his heart served him for the time as the truth." And he hints at a similar danger in a wider aspect in words which are worthy of special remembrance at the present time. He is speaking of the tendency to make excitement an end in itself, and he says "This childishness our country has not yet succeeded in getting rid of. So even to-day, when we fail to see the truth of religion we seek in its observance an artistic gratification. So also much of our patriotism is not service of the motherland, but the luxury of bringing ourselves into a desirable attitude of mind toward the country." Reflection upon this last sentence would be of inestimable value.

In conclusion it is but fair to say that the strain of mysticism frequently avoids all danger and fulfils its proper function of religious insight. There are passages in this book which are worthy to rank with the highest expression of mystical genius and recall irresistibly the choicest passages of mediæval religious literature. In his description of one of the experiences which came to him in Calcutta, Sir Rabindranath gives us an insight into the meaning of some of the finest passages in his own poetry and makes good a claim to a place amongst those who have had a true vision of eternal realities.

W. S. U.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July 1917.

The leading place is given to a centenary article on Jane Austen. The treatment is a little exaggerated and the praise will seem excessive except in the opinion of a few who belong to the innermost circle of admirers. Still we can predict that, as a result of this article, there will be considerable re-reading of the novels, especially of "Persuasion" and of "Emma." The writer makes a curious use of the phrases "subjective" and "objective," and his meaning is hard to seize until one realises that by "subjective" he really means "objective" and by "objective" "subjective"! His description of the school of novelists with a purpose as those "who believe the novel is Heaven's appointed jam for the powder of their own opinions" will linger in the memory. The article on

"Degeneracy" touches with scientific accuracy upon several questions of paramount importance at the present day. "Some Economic Lessons of the War" deals mainly with French economic problems. One is startled to find the extent to which the invasion of France in 1914 destroyed the metallurgical resources of the country. And in order that the iron resources of the recently annexed parts may be properly utilised it is necessary that the coal mines between the Rhine and the Moselle should be recovered. The writer feels that if Germany were to remain in possession of her recent seizures, she could obtain military predominance at any future time without firing a shot. The "Elements of the Russian Revolution" is an interesting article, but events have moved so rapidly that descriptions of the general situation come to be regarded as out of date almost before the ink is dry.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—October 1917.

This number opens with an exceedingly well written article upon M. Thiers. The writer has collected a quantity of fresh information which throws considerable light upon the achievements of a man too soon forgotten. At least three articles bear more or less close reference to German trading methods. Mr. W. H. Dawson emphasises the German ability for organisation and "peaceful penetration," and two anonymous articles show how these same qualities have been applied in the domination of political movements in Turkey and the carrying through of the schemes for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. An article on "World Congestion and the Real Armageddon" by Mr. H. G. Hutchison is somewhat pessimistic in tone. He points out that world-congestion is increasing at an appalling rate and that by the time our children's grandchildren have lived their lives, there will be too many people in existence for the world to support. Hence the necessity of conflict and an Armageddon of the nations, in which the victory will go to the people who have prepared for this *in good time*. How nearly Germany succeeded in dominating the world for the next three or four generations is shown in some striking sentences, which, whatever we may think of the main argument of the article, deserve to be remembered. Germany is amongst modern nations, according to the

writer "most richly endowed with foresight" and had it not been for the unexpected intervention of British sea power, her grandiose schemes would now have been in course of realisation. And she would have been ready for the year 2100!—when the Armageddon due to congestion will, at latest, begin. An article of special interest to us in India is the one dealing with the extraordinary growth in the prosperity of the Federated Malay States especially since the introduction of the new arrangements in 1910.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July and October 1917.

The first article in the July number is entitled "Thoughts on the Russian Revolution" and is written by Stephen Graham. The author's opinion of Kerensky, *viz.*, that "he is not a strong man but a clever demagogue, and may overdo his *role* of facing both ways," has been justified by results and gives authority to other prophecies. Materially the author promises for Russia a great future. "Of a surety, despite Russia's present wretched state materially, she becomes prosperous without parallel within ten years of the coming of peace, the commercial counterbalance in the east of America in the west." Spiritually he thinks that the future is much more doubtful but he trusts the essential soundness of the Russian character to develop out of the present confusion a federation of the different nationalities of the empire which may be a model for a united Europe. An article by Saint Nihal Singh on "India's Changing Status in the Empire" discusses the position as it appeared after the Imperial War Conference. Frank Ballard writes on "The God of Mr. H. G. Wells" with reference to the book "God the Invisible King" and the result of his reasoned criticism is to show that Mr. Wells is guilty on the one hand of grossly misrepresenting Christianity and on the other hand of offering as a new religion contradictory conceptions which rest on nothing more objective than his own personal conviction. The tendency towards Church Unity is described and considered in an article by W. T. Davison on "The Church and the Churches."

The October number is more predominantly theological than usual. Principal Forsyth contributes a strong

article on "The Moralisation of Religion" and urges the world's need of a public ethic dominated by the conception of righteousness and the Kingdom of God. W. H. Griffith Thomas discusses "Prayers for the Dead" and holds that the practice is a wrong one. The New Testament is silent with regard to it and the practice does not appear to have begun before the latter half of the second century. Prayer for the dead who die in the Lord is not possible for anyone who believes in the fact of justification by faith; while prayer for those of whose salvation one is not certain involves the idea of the "larger hope" which the writer again thinks to be unscriptural. W. Ernest Beet writes a scholarly article on "The False Decretals." "The War in Paraguay" by E. E. Kellett tells the story of the war of 1864-70 which after causing untold misery for five years ended in the almost total destruction of the "Paraguayan nation." Between this war and the present war the author sees several curious analogies. In particular "arising as it did out of the wicked ambition of one man and exhibiting very clearly the dangers of unrestrained militarism, it also shows the Nemesis that waits on villainy, and illustrates the ways in which Divine Justice vindicates itself on those who scorn its precepts." An article on "Wesley's Standards in the Light of To-day" by H. Maldwyn Hughes recognises the need for some change in the outward forms of faith, and the author, apparently reckless of the charge of Erastianism to which he exposes himself, seems to favour an appeal to Parliament to give authority to the Church to modify its own standards.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

BY A. YUSUF ALI.

INDIA is a sufficiently vast subject for a life-long study by itself. For the present purpose we must study India from a particular point of view. We must study her own particular problems, but we must do so with a view to her position as a constituent member of the British Commonwealth. Her relations with Great Britain have hitherto monopolised the attention of publicists. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the strands which she has contributed to the Imperial thread of history. Her importance as a factor in the British Commonwealth was definitely recognised for the first time by the Imperial War Conference that met in London in the spring of 1917.

Historically India, directly or indirectly, has always been a factor in the expansion of England. The search for the route to India led to the discovery of America. That discovery opened up a new horizon to the maritime nations of the West. It led to the first establishment of distant "Colonies" and "Dependencies" in the modern sense of the terms. The ideas which we associate with the two terms had not yet been clearly differentiated. The old Greek and Roman Colonies, Confederacies, and Empires were based on a wholly different conception from those that arose after the discovery of America. In origin, in methods, and in the relationships between the

financiers, irrigation engineers, and soldiers, have applied Indian experience to Egyptian conditions and Egyptian experience to Indian conditions. During this Great War the interflow of talent between the two countries has been constant, and the share of Indian authorities in the settlement and consolidation of the new Sultanate has been important, though it has not been much before the public eye.

The resources of India have thus not only been of material assistance in the growth and expansion of our Empire but they have been of incalculable value at great crises in its history. In the Napoleonic Wars, the British Empire in India was still undeveloped, but it was a useful check to the growing ambitions of France in the East. Pitt, who sums up in himself the spirit of those wars, took a large part in the shaping of Indian policy and in the discussions on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Burke's eloquent appeals in that connection are well known. The danger then was that Indian influence in British politics and British life should be exaggerated, and that it should be viewed as an outside factor which had to be guarded against. As long as the East India Company remained in existence, such a danger may have been *réal*. It was a very powerful commercial and financial Corporation, which frequently gave loans to the State, paid large sums for the renewal of its Charter and monopoly, and could exert a decisive influence in big financial crises like those of the South Sea Bubble. Its officials, the "nabobs" of the eighteenth century, brought *immense riches from the East*, and ideas of public life and public dealings, not consonant with the traditions of public life in the United Kingdom. When seats in Parliament could be bought, this state of affairs raised grave questions of public policy, which were much discussed in the reigns of George III and George IV. A progressive control of this new power by the State met some of the

difficulties, beginning with the Regulating Act of 1773 and proceeding to a greater and greater elimination of trade and patronage from government and administration at each periodical renewal of the Company's Charter, until the final extinction of the Company after the terrible cataclysm of the Indian Mutiny in 1857.

After India came under the direct rule of the Crown, her Imperial importance was somewhat obscured until she was lifted up into the lime-light again by the romantic genius of Disraeli. The Delhi Durbar of 1877, with the assumption of the Imperial title by the British Crown, marked the beginning of a period when India became the show part of the Empire, "the brightest jewel in the British Diadem." Quite early in that period (1880-1884) Lord Ripon's personal influence in the Viceroyalty attempted to develop local institutions and give a practical tone to Imperial policy. But the dominating note remained that of a benevolent despotism, culminating in the masterful Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. But in the meantime Indian opinion had been undergoing a change. Two well-defined currents developed. One of these was open and constitutional, and has ultimately crystallised in the direction of a cry for self-government on Colonial lines, — "Swaraj" to use the Indian term to which the hall-mark of currency was given by Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji. The other current worked underground, and was frankly revolutionary. It advocated the use of force, and had ramifications, not only in India but at the centre of the Empire, in the United States, and in other parts of the world.

Both these movements must be taken into account in building up a policy for India and the Empire. The Minto-Morley reforms of 1907-1908 were directed towards rallying the constitutional forces of reform on the side of law and order and isolating the forces of anarchy. Some Indians were appointed to the higher

administrative and consultation posts; the composition and powers of the Legislative Councils were enlarged; and administrative and financial decentralisation was attempted. But the schemes did not go far enough. The introduction of two Indians to the Secretary of State's India Council in London gave Indians for the first time a status in the Empire outside India, although they were not elected by the people of India and their voice was confined to the affairs of India as administered at Whitehall. It was in Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty (1910—1916) that Indian opinion first took an Imperial turn, guided by the sympathetic administration of that eminent statesman and the practical Indian leadership of Mr. K. G. Gokhale. The means to the attainment of this end were: an Indian solution of the Indian Labour Question outside India, and an Imperial solution of the Defence Question as concerned with the resources of India.

The introduction of Indian labour to work in plantations outside India dates from somewhere about the beginning of the nineteenth century,—about the time when the Negro Slave Trade was disappearing, and the emancipation of Negro slaves was being discussed as a matter of practical politics. I believe Mauritius was the first Colony to receive Indian labour in that way, and almost 70 per cent. of its population of 370,000 is now estimated to be Indian. The stream set in towards the sugar plantations in America in 1844, when British Guiana and the Island of Trinidad received Indian labour, followed by Grenada and St. Lucia in 1856 and 1858. Natal followed suit in 1860, and the system was subsequently extended to the Danish West Indies (St. Croix) and the Dutch colony of Surinam. Fiji began to import Indian labour in 1885 after the Kanaka revelations, and has now from 30 to 37 per cent. of the population Indian. The percentage in British Guiana is 42. In Natal the main population is Native African, numbering nearly a million; but the

Indians number over 133,000 compared to only 98,000 Europeans. The Colony of Natal owes its economic development to Indian labour, and she was saved in the flood of the South African War by the resources of India. The number of Indians in all parts of the Empire, outside India, is estimated to be close on two millions.

This is a large number, but it consists mainly of labourers, called Coolies, from a Hindustani word. The unfortunate result is that the word "Coolie" is used in South Africa and the Crown Colonies, as almost synonymous with "Indian", whether he is a labourer, a petty shopkeeper, a contractor, or a professional man. Indians are also vaguely confounded with the aboriginal natives and in many cases deprived of civil rights. It is not an exaggeration to say that, before the War, the Indian had a status inferior to that of a European alien within the Empire, and this naturally depressed his position in foreign countries outside the Empire.

In the abstract there is nothing inherently wrong in Indentured Labour. White immigrants used to go out to Virginia in the seventeenth century under indentures of labour. But the various incidents connected with Indian labour, including the many defects of system and misrepresentations by the recruiting agency in India itself, have made Indian opinion very sore, and absolutely unanimous against Indentured Labour. The growth of industries in India itself and the shortage in the home labour market have tended to strengthen this feeling. Mr. Gokhale raised the point in the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1910 and 1912. When the question became acute in South Africa, and led to passive resistance and bloodshed, Mr. Gokhale undertook a mission to that country, which was followed later by an official mission, under Sir Benjamin Robertson, from the Government of India. In October 1915 Lord Hardinge's Government recommended the abolition of the Indenture system.

The question, however, does not rest there. The Crown Colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Fiji still require Indian labour, mainly for the production of sugar. The sugar question will have Imperial importance for some years to come. An inter-Departmental Conference between the India Office and the Colonial Office has elaborated a scheme for Assisted Emigration from India to these Colonies, to take the place of the Indenture system. This scheme is in advance of anything hitherto attempted, but it fails to satisfy Mr. M. K. Gandhi and the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who have led Indian opinion in such matters. Their objections go to the root of any system of recruitment for Indian labourers to work in distant Colonies. We may leave the question at this stage, noting that there are five interests entitled to be heard in this matter : the Colonial sugar producers ; the interests of local labour in the Colonies concerned ; the interests of the free Indians settled there, whose labour is apt to be undersold by imported labour under restrictive conditions ; the interests of Indian labour in India itself, both agricultural and industrial ; and the employers of Indian labour in India, in town and country.

The question of Indians in the self-governing Dominions stands on a different footing from that in the Crown Colonies. South Africa has the large Indian population of nearly 160,000, mainly in Natal—Natal would like more Indian labour ; but Indian labour emigration to that country has now been stopped for some years on account of the friction of the Indian population with the restrictive laws of the Union. The chief difficulties were : the non-recognition of Indian marriages according to Indian religious rites and customs ; the poll-tax on Indians ; and the internal restriction of their movements and the restrictions connected with the ingress of their relatives and friends from India as well as of professional men to

meet the higher needs of the Indian communities. In these matters much has been done to meet the position, and the meeting of India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference with the representatives of the self-governing Dominions has led to a certain amount of tacit understanding.

To Canada many Sikhs and Hindus were attracted by the lumber trade, but Canada has no large Indian settled population, and her legislation as well as that of Australia and New Zealand has effectually barred the entry of Indians and other Asiatics. The question has been raised whether Tropical Australia cannot be developed by means of Indian labour. But Australian opinion is strong on the formula of a White Australia, and Indian opinion is not likely to tolerate any scheme in which full civic rights are not conferred on Indian settlers. The principle of "Reciprocity" which was adopted at the Imperial War Conference is a convenient formula embodying the relationship of the self-governing Dominions to India in these matters. How it is to be interpreted or worked in practice is a matter which the future alone can decide.

Perhaps the misunderstandings which have hitherto occurred between India and other parts of the Empire has been due to India's isolation from the larger questions of Imperial politics and policy,—an isolation in which the self-governing Dominions have also been involved, though in a minor degree. Politically this isolation has been removed by the admission of India to the Imperial Conference on equal terms by the free and spontaneous vote of the Dominions. But this is only a first step. It can only be completed by the logic of facts. The process began with the loyal participation of India in the War. The work of her soldiers in cementing their comradeship on the field of battle was part of the general process by which India identified herself heart and soul with the interests of the Empire as a whole in this life and death struggle.

The work of military commanders has always been a bond of union among different portions of the Empire. Lord Cornwallis served in the American War before he went out to India and defeated Tippu Sultan; he afterwards held the chief command in Ireland and negotiated the Peace of Amiens, 1802. Lord Clive would no doubt have served in America if he had not committed suicide in 1774. The Duke of Wellington would have been a commanding figure from his Indian achievements alone, even if the successful training which he received in India had not been crowned with the world-wide fame he afterwards achieved in Europe. The two greatest British soldiers of modern times were connected with India and the Empire generally: Lord Roberts was a Sepoy General before he rounded off his career in South Africa, and Lord Kitchener's name was writ large in the history of Egypt and India before he took up the question of Imperial defence and subsequently the organisation of this world-wide War. But this war brought the Indian private soldier into touch with the soldiers of the Dominions and the Colonies. That personal contact in the mass must eventually help the solution of permanent questions of Imperial defence and organisation, which have figured so largely in the minds of our statesmen since the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The organisation of the economic resources of the Empire, which has been taken up during this War, must lead to greater and greater commercial intercourse between the oversea portions of the Empire among themselves and with the United Kingdom. This is also a very important after-War problem, and its solution must lead to better inter-Imperial communications, trade, and industries, and the more effective utilisation of the mutual products of different parts of the Empire. The Imperial Institute, as re-organised, is well calculated to be a centre of many activities in this direction, and is already acting

as a clearing house for the numerous organisations which are working with these objects in view. In all these activities India, the Dominions, Colonies, and Possessions, and the United Kingdom are trying to harmonise their efforts, and remove any old-fashioned barriers that made for isolation.

One great result of this economic interflow will be the tendency—gradual at first but accelerated as time goes on—to level up economic standards as between India and the Dominions. Indian prices in the days of isolation were entirely divorced from the prices of the world at large. They have tended more and more in recent times to be sensitive to world movements and to approximate to the general levels in the most progressive communities. What has happened and is happening with prices will also happen with wages and general economic standards, and these are the natural and most powerful solvents of the age-long peculiarities which have differentiated India from western communities and kept her apart. Such economic barriers have been at the bottom of much of the friction and misunderstanding of the past. With their removal must go (if we can look so far ahead) much of the feeling that finds expression in cautious measures of reciprocal exclusion or restrictions. Racial feeling is often built up on the prejudices of history ; but the accomplished facts of history offer the most hopeful solution for the problems created by racial prejudices.

All these material and political bonds of union are important, but most important of all is an Imperial (or shall I say inter-Imperial) atmosphere. Loyal co-operation, “ playing for partners ” will produce such an atmosphere, and noble deeds of courage and chivalry will make it more bracing. But the most vital systematic agency for its creation and maintenance is a proper system of inter-Imperial education. The whole system of education in the United Kingdom, in India, in the Dominions, and in

the Colonies and Possessions, indeed, throughout the world,—will be overhauled in the reconstruction after the War. In the preparations now being made, a strong appeal has been made for civic education. Would a plea for inter-Imperial education not find a sympathetic echo among educational reformers throughout the Empire? Four features in such an education may be postulated :—

(1) The study and teaching of Imperial history as a whole, and not merely the study and teaching, in each unit of the British Empire, of the history of that unit in isolation, with the other portions treated as mere episodes.

(2) A free interchange of students, teachers, and professors throughout the Empire ; the extension of the idea of Rhodes' scholarships so as to include India within the scheme, and stimulate a movement from the centre outwards as well as a movement from the outlying parts to the centre ; and a strengthening of the movement for the federation of the Universities of the Empire.

(3) The insistence on the moral factors in the culture and civilisation of each unit, so that the particular gifts of each may contribute to the strength of all, and the weaknesses due to the peculiar circumstances of any particular part may be cured in the general co-operation of all. This will be needed to counteract the almost exclusive attention devoted by publicists to purely material or trade factors.

(4) The cultivation of an Imperial sentiment, for example, in India ; defining it from the new angles of vision and bringing it into relation with domestic progress and ideals as well as with the progress and ideals of other portions of the Empire ; the fostering of the feeling that the flag is our own, to work and fight for ; on the other side, a correlative process for fostering a healthy pro-Indian sentiment of comradeship, understanding, and helpfulness, in the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and the Colonies, and Possessions.

We are accustomed in India to the phrase and the fact of hand-to-mouth living. Has not the thinking of the Empire been done too much by the day-to-hour method? The Holland Commission in India is dealing with her economic growth. It falls to the Reconstruction Committee of the Cabinet and the post-bellum Imperial Conference to do the thinking of the Empire in a large horizon, with light from the many sources, political and cultural, whose existence is not even suspected, in all parts of the Empire. India is one of such sources, and not by any means the least important.

A. YUSUF ALI.

London.

THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA AND THE SECTS DEPENDENT THEREON.

BY J. N. FARQUHAR, D. LITT. (OXON).

THE Bhāgavata Purāṇa is, I believe, later than the other Purāṇas, but it contains a great deal of old material, much of it clearly taken from the Viṣṇu Purāṇas, and the Harivaṃśa. This old material covers not merely ordinary Puranic matter—the whole Kṛishṇa story as told in it is old. Even the love of the Gopīs, though greatly embellished and heightened in the Bhāgavata, goes back to those two prime Purāṇas. But while Kṛishṇa's youth is but an episode in the two early works, it is emphasized to the exclusion of everything else in the Bhāgavata.

It must be carefully noticed that Rādhā does not appear in the Bhāgavata. Yet there is a favourite among the Gopīs, who wanders alone with Kṛishṇa,¹ and probably from this allusion some later writer created the character.

The style is new and loftier than that of the old Purāṇas except where ancient material is verbally reproduced. The contrast between the Bhāgavata and those Purāṇas which stand nearest to it in age, *e.g.*, the Agni and the Garuda, is very striking.

The Bhāgavata is really a great work. What distinguishes it from all earlier literature is its new theory of bhakti ; and therein lies its true greatness. Some of its utterances on this subject are worthy of a place in the best literature of mysticism and devotion. A careful study of those passages will convince the student that they are expressions of a living religious experience.² The author

¹ X. xxx. 11-40.

² Students may grasp this element most easily by running through Vishnupurī's *Bhaktirahasya* where a great deal of the best teaching of the Bhāgavata is collected and arranged.

has revealed neither his name nor the part of India where he dwelt, but we can, with absolute certainty, conclude that the work arose in some centre where there was a group of Vaishṇava ascetics who lived a life of fervent devotion, and that the writer's religious experience was rooted there. In this rich religious element lies the chief source of the power of the Bhāgavata. Hence the hold it has had on some of the best Vaishṇava communities and on many of the noble minds of India.

Bhakti in this work is a surging emotion, which chokes the speech, makes the tears flow and the hair thrill with pleasurable excitement, and often leads to hysterical laughing and weeping by turns, to sudden fainting fits and to long trances of unconsciousness. We are told that it is produced by gazing at the images of Kṛishṇa, singing his praises, remembering him in meditation, keeping company with his devotees, touching their bodies, serving them lovingly, hearing them tell the mighty deeds of Kṛishṇa, and talking with them about his glory and his love. All this rouses the passionate bhakti which will lead to self-consecration to Kṛishṇa and life-long devotion to his service. Such devotion leads rapidly to Release. But, as a matter of fact, in most passages in the Purāṇa it is the one story of his dalliance with the Gopīs that is used as a stimulus to bhakti.

For we must also recognize in the Bhāgavata the presence of another fresh element of a very different character, a long series of highly erotic passages,³ which go far beyond anything the Viṣṇu and the Harivamśa contain, and which seem at first sight to consort ill with the high devotion to the Lord and the service of his saints which we have been considering. Yet, as we have seen, the author expects these accounts of the passions of the Gopīs to stimulate bhakti. The utter self-abandonment of

³ They are found chiefly in the tenth book, and above all in the famous *Pañcādhyāyī*, five chapters of the tenth book, xxix-xxxiii.

their love for Kṛiṣṇa has come to be regarded as a symbol of spiritual devotion. Meditation on these scenes is expected to produce passionate bhakti and to lead to Release. This idea lies at the foundation of the whole series of sects which sprang from the Bhāgavata. Necessarily, this aspect of the poem proved very unhealthy in its influence, as the later history shows.

Another noticeable feature of the Bhāgavata is this, that its philosophic teaching stands closer to Śaṅkara's system than to the theistic Śaṅkhya of the older Purāṇas.

The problem of the date of the Bhāgavata cannot be said to have been yet solved. Hindu estimates of its age vary to an extraordinary extent, some assigning it to the earliest times, others attributing it to Bopadeva, a well-known scholar of the second half of the thirteenth century. Most European scholars have spoken of it as a late work, but while Colebrooke, Burnouf and Wilson accept the suggestion that it is the work of Bopadeva, others believe it to be older.¹ In the fourth chapter of the first book of the Purāṇa itself we are told that it was composed after the other Purāṇas were completed; and there is a late passage in the Padma Purāṇa² which states that Vyāsa promulgated the Bhāgavata last of all, as the extracted substance of all the rest. Even in the time of Śrīdhara Svāmīn, who wrote a famous commentary on it, there was a good deal of discussion about the genuineness of the Purāṇa, which shews that scholarly Hindus of those days were aware that it was a late production.³ The judgment of modern scholars, which rests on the actual features of the work, coincides with this evidence. It is thus quite certain that the Bhāgavata is the latest of all the Purāṇas.

¹ Wilson, *VP.* I.

Winternits, *GIL.* I. 465
Wilson, *Works,* III. 52

² In the *Patala Khanda.*

³ Wilson, *VP.* I.

Winternitz, *GIL.* I. 465

But it is impossible to believe that Bopadeva was the author ; for Madhva (A.D. 1199 to 1278), who regarded it as fully inspired and used it in the creation of his sect,⁷ lived about fifty years earlier than that scholar. Bopadeva's name became associated with the book because he wrote a brief commentary on it.⁸ But the belief in its inspiration implies its existence for some considerable time before the days of Mādhva's activity ; and, fortunately, we possess another piece of evidence which, I believe, proves clearly that it was already recognized as an authoritative work two centuries before Mādhva wrote. Alberuni in his famous work on India, which was completed in A. D. 1030,⁹ gives us the list of Purāṇas, as it was in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa in his day, and it is precisely the same as the list in our MSS. of the Viṣṇu to-day. Thus it is absolutely clear that by 1030 the Bhāgavata had not only been written but had already gained such acceptance as to have won its present recognized place as the fifth of the Purāṇas. We must thus acknowledge that it cannot have been written later than the tenth century.

It is possible that it was in the Tamil country that the work arose. There is one passage in the poem¹⁰ which would be most easily explicable on this hypothesis :—

Men born in the Krita, Treta, Dvaparā ages
wished to take birth in the Kali age,
because they knew that in this age would
be born great souls devoted to Nārāyaṇa.
But these souls would be thinly scattered
here and there ; but in the Dravida Land
they would be found in some numbers, living
by the side of such rivers as Tamraparni,
Kritamālā, Payasvini, Kaveri the holy.

See below, p. 150.

⁷ See Duff, *CI.* 201.

⁸ Sachau, *I.* 131.

¹⁰ XI. v. 38-40. It is quoted and translated in another connection by Govindacharya, *JRAS.* 1911, 949.

This inference is strengthened by the passage in the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya* in which Bhakti, incarnate as a young woman, says, "I was born in Dravida."¹¹

It thus seems natural to conjecture that the *Bhāgavata* was written in the tenth century, or a little earlier, in the Tamil country, where the *Ālvārs* and many others had expressed their bhakti towards Viṣṇu by dancing and singing, and in some community of Vaishṇava ascetics who had come under the influence of Śaṅkarāchārya. In these circumstances Rāmānuja's avoidance of the *Purāṇa* is quite intelligible. He would be certain to know that the book was a recent one.

The Mādhva sect¹² was founded on the teaching of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The place where the new movement arose was Udipi in the Udipi taluk of South Kanara, a district in which Tulu and Kanarese are spoken. In that rather retired country, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the people were either Śaivas, or belonged to a sect known as the *Bhāgavatas*, which honoured Viṣṇu and Śiva as equal. Two other facts seem to indicate that the place was a sheltered one, cut off from the greater currents of Indian life : in the temples of the *Bhāgavatas* Viṣṇu was represented by a *līṅga*, evidently a very old custom ; and animal sacrifice was still in use. The sect-mark was Vaishṇava in form, but they did not practise branding. The philosophy which both Śaivas and *Bhāgavatas* recognized was Śaṅkara's Advaita Vedānta.

A Brahman youth¹³ belonging to this district (1199-1278) named at first Vasudeva, but later Mādhva and still later Ānandatīrtha, became a sannyāsī and received a training in Śaṅkara's system. But in addition to the regular Vedānta treatises, he gave much time to the *Aitareya U.*,

¹¹ Grierson, *JRAS.* 1911, 800. See the exposition of the passage below, p. 151.

¹² Padmanabhachar's *Life and Teaching of Madhvacharya* CF. also Grierson, *ERE.* art. Mādhva.

¹³ Bhandarkar *VS.* 59 ; and Grierson, *ERE.* art. Mādhva.

the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. This last work clearly dominated his religious life, but the Mahābhārata also influenced him deeply. Before his period of training was over, he broke away from Śaṅkarā. Soon after he began public discussion, and gradually formed a system for himself.

He was successful in gathering a community of some size and in winning a number of notable converts. He wrote a commentary on the Gītā and then a Bhāṣhya on the Vedānta-Sūtras. The system taught in these books is in many points like Rāmānuja's ; but the philosophy is dualistic. He distinguishes very sharply between man and God, and thus stands farther away from Śaṅkarā than any other exponent of the Vedānta-Sūtras, except perhaps Vishnu-svāmī.

After a tour in North India, filled with controversy and writing, he set about the organization of his sect in Udupi. While the philosophy is dualistic, as has been said, the religion is the worship of Kṛishṇa by bhakti as taught in the Bhāgavata, without the recognition of Rādhā, and the worship is a modification of the forms laid down in the Vaishṇava Samhitās. In order not to depart too far from the custom of the district, he substituted for animal sacrifice the offering of animals made of rice flour, as suggested in the Brāhmaṇas. Another feature of the worship is that when the image of Kṛishṇa is fed, food from his table amounting to a full meal is given to all worshippers. They sit down and feast in the temple. Each of the great sports of the god is commemorated in an annual festival. The five gods are worshipped, but that in no way interferes with the supremacy of Viṣṇu. A sect-mark is used, and every member of the sect is branded with the symbols of the god, as enjoined in the Samhitās.

Mādhva's chief works are his Bhāṣhya Anuvyākhyāna, both on the Vedānta-Sūtras. The Bhāṣhya, which both in name and form comes into comparison with the

great works of Saṅkarā and Rāmānuja, is a comparatively short prose treatise, which seeks to show by an array of proof-texts that Mādhva's explanation of the Sūtras is the only right one. The texts are drawn from (a) the Rigveda, (b) the Upanishads and the Gītā, (c) the Purāṇas, the Vaishṇava Samhitās and other late works. The book is thus of very little interest except as an account of the teaching of the sect. It also provides us with a long array of quotations from the Purāṇas and the Samhitās which ought to be useful as revealing in part the condition of these texts about A.D. 1230. The only Purāṇas not quoted are the Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Liṅga. There are at least one hundred and fifty Puranic quotations; while from the Samhitās there are about forty or fifty.¹⁴ His exposition of the Bhāgavata, the *Bhāgavata tātparya nirṇaya*, and a companion volume on the *Mahābhārata* are also works of considerable importance for the sect. He produced commentaries on the Aitareya Āraṇyaka and nine Upanishads, and a Bhāṣya on the Gītā. It is noticeable that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which tends to be monistic, as we have seen, is the foundation of the Mādhva religion, yet the Mādhva philosophy is Advaita, a dualism. It seems as if the leader had gone as far away as possible from the hated Advaita.¹⁵ The dualism referred to in the name is the sharp distinction between God and the soul, but there are three entities in the system, God, individual souls and matter, and one of the leading principles of the sect is the five-fold distinction between God and the soul, between God and matter, between souls and matter, between one soul and another and between one particle of matter and another. Mādhva holds that there are three classes of souls, the first ever free from transmigration, the second bound but predestined

¹⁴ The Samhitās quoted are the *Bhāgavata*, *Varāha*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Purushottama*, *Parama*, *Māyāvaiṭhava*, which occur in Schrader's list (IPAS). 6 ff. and the *Vyoma*, *Brihat* and *Mahā* besides.

¹⁵ He was bitterly persecuted by the monks of Sringeri.

to liberation, the third bound and predestined to eternal hell. The basis of this doctrine appears in the *Samhitās*.¹⁶

We take next a still more notable development of *bhakti*. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, as we have already seen, there is a passage in which *Kṛishṇa* is said to have had a special favour for one *Gopī*, but there is no mention of *Rādhā*. The *Gopīs* remark, however, that this *Gopī* must surely have worshipped *Kṛishṇa* with more fervour than the rest, and so have won his special love. It is just possible that the name *Rādhā* was formed from the verb meaning "to worship" used in this passage. It is probable that the *Rādhā-Kṛishṇa* section of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* is the earliest extant document in which her story is told.

Two sects were founded at an early date on the basis of the *Bhāgavata* with the addition of *Rādhā*, the *Vishṇu-svāmīs* and the *Nimbārkas*. The date of the foundation of these sects is unknown, so that it is impossible to decide which is the earlier of the two, but it is clear that *Nimbārka* is at least as early as *Mādhva*, i.e., the first half of the thirteenth century, and the mention of *Vishṇusvāmī* in the *Sarvādarsanasamgraha* shews that he cannot be placed later than the end of the same century.

Of *Vishṇusvāmī* little or nothing is known; but he is said to have come from the south. We are told that he wrote commentaries on the *Gītā*, the *Vedānta-Sūtras* and the *Bhāgavata*, and a *Vallabha* scholar at present in *Poona* declares that this last work, his *Bhāshya* or the *Bhāgavata* still survives in the *Sanskrit College*, *Benares*, but that is still doubtful. His philosophic position was dualistic, even more extreme than *Mādhva's*. He spoke of *Rādhā* as the mistress of *Kṛishṇa*. Not much more than this is known of his system. *Mādhva's* reference to *Vishṇusvāmī* in the *Sarvādarsanasamgraha* is very disappointing; for from it we should not know at all of his interest in the *Bhāgavata* and *Rādhā*. He mentions both *Vishṇusvāmī* and his

¹⁶ Schrader, I.R.A.S., 86.

'devoted adherent,' Srikanṭha Miśra, author of the *Sākāra-siddhi*, but merely mentions them because of their belief in the eternity of the body of Viṣṇu in his half-man, half-lion form, Narasiṅha. The title *Sākāra-siddhi* means proof that God possesses a body which has form, an idea which fits well in with a dualistic philosophy. The prominence of the Narasimha form of Viṣṇu in this reference need cause us no difficulty. In South Indian Vaishṇavism Kṛiṣṇa is more prominent than any other avatāra of Viṣṇu, but Rāma and Narasimha have each a large place also.

The *Bhākta-mālā* contains a tradition that Jñānadeva, the Marāṭha Bhakta, was influenced by Viṣṇusvāmī, and through him, Nāṁdeva and Trilochana, who, though Marāṭhas, were also influential in the Punjab, and wrote Hindī hymns. If the tradition has any real basis, the influence must have been restricted to the doctrine and practice of bhakti and the use of the *Bhāgavata*: for these Marāṭha writers do not recognize Rādhā at all.

There is also a tradition that Śrīdhara, the greatest of all commentators on the *Bhāgavata*, was a member of the Viṣṇusvāmī sect, but that scarcely seems likely to be true; for he was an advaitin. The most notable representative of the sect in the fifteenth century was Bilvamāṅgala, the author of the *Kṛiṣṇakarmāmrīta*.

Nimbārka was a scholarly Brāhman from the Telugu country, who had settled in Brindaban. He was a Vedantist, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was his favourite religious book, but he accepted Rādhā and gave her a place in his doctrine. His date is uncertain; but it must be somewhere between 1150 and 1250 A. D. From two lists of Nimbārkaite gurus Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has made a rough calculation,¹⁷ which suggests that he died about 1160. In any case it is unlikely that he lived earlier than the first half of the twelfth century; and, since the poet

¹⁷ *VS.* 62, n. 4.

Jayadeva, who flourished about 1250, belonged to the sect, clearly that is the lowest possible date.

His system¹³ is *bhedābheda*, dualistic monism, the theory that the human soul is in one sense identical with God, and in another distinct. His theology is built on the *Bhāgavata* with the addition of *Rādhā* and on certain elements in *Rāmānuja's Śrībhāṣya*. He speaks of *Rādhā* as the eternal consort of *Kṛishṇa* and says she was his wedded wife in *Brindaban*, yet the old story of the *Gopīs* remains. The religious life of the sect has always been more important than its philosophy. However strange it may seem, it is certainly true that *Nimbārka* expected the story to yield precious devotional feeling. *Growse* assures us¹⁹ that most of the solitary ascetics who in his day had their little hermitages in the sacred groves around *Brindaban* were *Nimbārkas* and that they were usually pious, simple-minded men. The community was very large and influential in North India until the sixteenth century, when, under pressure of competition, it began to weaken.

The leaders of the sect wrote a number of Sanskrit works most of which have now been published. *Nimbārka* himself wrote a short *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtras*, called *Vedānta-parijāta-saurabha*, and a poem of ten stanzas which contains the quintessence of his system, the *Dasastoki*.²⁰ The literature does not seem to have had much influence outside the sect.

It is interesting to realize that *Jayadeva*, the famous author of the *Gītā Govinda*, was a follower of *Nimbārka*.

The *Śrī-Vaishṇavas* say that their system of teaching and worship was handed down to them by a succession of teachers from the goddess *Śrī*, i.e., *Lakshmi*, the wife of *Vishṇu*, and they therefore call it the *Śrī-sampradaya*, the

¹³ Best sketch by *Bhandarkar*, *VS* 63 ff.

¹⁹ *Mathura*, 1914

Translated by *Bhandarkar*, *VS* 63 ff.

Tradition from Śrī, and the Mādhvas, the Nimbārkas and the Viṣṇusvāmīs each make a similar claim, thus :—

Śrī-Vrīṣṇavas	:	Śrī-sampradaya
Mādhvas	:	Brahmā-sampradaya
Nimbārkas	:	Sanakādi-sampradaya
Viṣṇusvāmīs	:	Rūdra-sampradaya.

Hence these systems are regarded as forming a group and are designated the four Sampradayas, a phrase which must have arisen at a time when these four were the most prominent Vaiṣṇava communities, either in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

It is clear that the *Nārada Sūtra* and the *Śāṇḍilya Sūtra* are connected with the movement generated by the *Bhāgavata*, but it does not seem possible as yet to settle their date nor their sectarian relations. It is probable that they are also connected with the *Nārada* and *Śāṇḍilya Samhitās*.

The use of the *Bhāgavata* can be traced in Rajputana and Gujarat in the fifteenth century. The one great writer in Rajputana at that time was the princess poet Mirabai who belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. She adored Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and in her general belief was closely allied to the Nimbārkas and the Viṣṇusvāmīs, but what her sect was is not known. Her chief hymns are extant in the Braj dialect, but there are also many Gujrati hymns attributed to her, which the people of Gujrat say she wrote in the later part of her life, when she was living at Dwarka.

The same beliefs may be traced in the lyrics of the famous Gujarati poet Narsingh Mehta, who was a younger contemporary of Mirabai. The erotic element appears in the poetry of both these writers, somewhat chastened in Mirabai but very prominent and unrestrained in many of Narsingh Mehta's hymns. Others are of a nobler type. His sectarian connection is also unknown. Both writers lived a good deal with Kṛṣṇaite ascetics.

Two new sects were founded at the opening of the sixteenth century, the Chaitanyas and the Vallabhāchāryas. The latter was probably the earlier of the two, but we take Chaitanya first because his teaching and practice stand in closer relation to the earlier sects.

He was born in Nadia, Bengal, and at an early age distinguished himself as a Sanskrit scholar and teacher in the *tols* there. He was peculiarly brilliant in grammar and logic. In philosophy he followed Śaṅkara. But while still a young man, he was won over to the practice of the enthusiastic bhakti taught in the Bhāgavata by a Mādhva ascetic, and he very soon began to preach his new faith. Shortly afterwards he became a *sannyāsī* of the Bhārati order, taking the name Kṛishṇa Chaitanya. He spent a great deal of time singing hymns with his followers, and rousing them to great devotional excitement. Frequently he led them out through the city in procession, dancing and singing with such fervour and contagious emotion as to carry the people away in delight. He thus formed his new methods of Saṅkīrtana and Nagarkīrtana, which were destined to prove so powerful.

Chaitanya himself inspired the whole new movement, but he was not a writer nor an organizer. He drew his theological ideas from the Mādhvas, but he accepted Nimbārka's bhedābheda philosophy. In any case his sect is founded on the Bhāgavata, and above all things on the story of Rādhā. He accepted her relation to Kṛishṇa as symbolic of the relation of the human soul to God, and regarded the story of her passionate love as a means whereby men and women could be brought to the purest and loftiest devotion to Kṛishṇa. He did not regard this devotion as a mere means to salvation, but as an enduring possession of infinite value, the very marrow of salvation. He was clearly a man of very noble aims and character, and founded his community with the purest of aims in view; but necessarily the

old mythology has opened a door for the entrance of uncleanness.

The extraordinary outburst of music and song which Chaitanya created led to the appearance of a new Vaishṇava literature of great beauty and power which dominated Bengali literature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chaitanya was eager to build up a Vaishṇava cause in Brindaban. He therefore visited the place himself and sent one of his followers there to look out the ancient sacred sites. At a later date six scholarly leaders of the sect settled in Brindaban, built a series of magnificent temples there and produced a large literature for the sect in both Sanskrit and Bengali. The chief theological works are in Sanskrit but literature meant to stimulate devotion is mostly in Bengali verse. Rūpa and Sānatana were the chief thinkers of the movement: it was they that formed the theology. The greatest Bengali work produced in Brindaban was the *Chaitanyacharitāmṛita* by Kṛishṇa Dāsa Kavirāja.

The organization of the sect in Bengal was carried out by Nityānanda and his son. The latter seems also to have been organizer of the new ascetic orders of the sect, the Vairāḡia and Vairāḡinīs. Buddhism had been slowly dying in Bengal for a long time and it seems clear that he so shaped the rule of these orders as to make it easy for the remnants of the old Buddhist order to pass into the new sect. As these orders belonged not to the early form of the religion but to Tantrik Buddhism, these men and women brought a very unhealthy influence with them into the sect. Other petty sects, whose origin is still very obscure, obtained, or pretended to obtain, some connection with the sect of Chaitanya; and their relationship also has been far from ennobling. Chaitanya's influence seems to have deluged the whole of Bengal, and it was also powerful in Orissa. From Brindaban it spread to a considerable extent in Hindustan.

Vallabha was contemporary of Chaitanya, but he was not his father-in-law, as is stated in many European books. They are said to have met at Allahabad. Vallabha came of a Telugu Brahman family settled in Benares. His father was a follower of Viṣṇusvāmī, so that Vallabha must have been familiar with the teaching and the practice of the sect from his childhood. It is also acknowledged that he knew Bilvamaṅgala and his book the *Kṛishṇakarmā-mṛita*; but, apart from that, all his relationships with the Viṣṇusvāmīs are extremely obscure. He received a good Sanskrit education, and finally set out on a controversial tour, in the course of which he went to Vijayanagar, and there is said to have won great victories.

Vallabha's own teaching is quite clear; for he wrote a number of Sanskrit works, and also a number of hymns in Braj. He calls his philosophic position Suddhādvaita, pure monism, whatever that may mean; and Vallabhas to-day praise him for having reconciled bhakti and the advaita. His monism is not nearly so stringent as Śaṅkara's.

But his Vedānta theory is by no means the most important part of his system. That is found in his theology and his practice. Kṛishṇa is the eternal God, and his heaven Goloka is exalted far above the other heavens. In it is a heavenly Brindaban and extensive forests. From Kṛishṇa springs Rādhā, his eternal spouse; and from the two spring millions of Gopās and Gopīs. With these they sport eternally in the heavenly Goloka. Their life in Brindaban is but a moment in their eternal existence.

As Kṛishṇa sports eternally, his devotees will not be sannyāsīs, but will sport like him, and enjoy all the pleasures of sense. The practice of the sect is therefore puṣṭi-mārga, the way of pleasure. The man who is filled with love for Kṛishṇa and lives as a faithful Vallabha according to the puṣṭi-mārga will become an associate of Kṛishṇa in his eternal sports.

Vallabha is held to have been an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, and all his male descendants share in his divine nature. Each is Kṛishṇa on earth. Therefore no one can become a guru in the sect except a male descendant of the founder, and the gurus are kept in wealth and luxury by their disciples. They are called Maharajas. There seems to be no public worship in the sect. Each temple is an adjunct of the house of one of the Maharajas. In the temple there are two rooms, one for the worship of Kṛishṇa, the other for the worship of the Maharaja, and more stress is laid on the latter than the former.

The teaching runs that the faithful Vallabha must dedicate to Kṛishṇa *man, tan, dhan*, mind, body and wealth; and since the Maharaja is Kṛishṇa, it is to him they are due. Since the Maharaja continues the sports which were Kṛishṇa's recreation among the Gopīs, the wives of members of the sect are in grave danger.

Further, in certain centres Vallabha laymen form what they call a Rās-maṇḍali or Love-circle, which meets periodically. In it the abominations practised by Tantriks in their chakra-pujā are carried on.

It is clear that in the Vallabhāchārya sect the influence of the Bhāgavata and of the sects founded upon it is reinforced with Tantrik practice. Every one will agree to that. But the sources of the general conception of the Puṣṭi-mārga are not at all clear as yet, nor the relation of Vallabha to the Viṣṇusvāmīs.

One thing, however, is clear, namely this, that the Chaitanya and Vallabha sects soon became extremely popular and powerful, and the Nimbārka and the Viṣṇusvāmīs, unable to compete with them, fell into obscurity. The Vallabhas have practically stepped into the place of the Viṣṇusvāmīs, although their philosophy and theology stand so far apart.

There are a number of minor sects which might be dealt with, especially the Rādhā-Vallabhas, but space will not perm it

I must not close, however, without referring to the Svāmī-Nārāyaṇīs, a sect founded in Gujarat about a century ago in protest against the immorality of the Vallabhas. It has made good progress and is still growing.

I cannot conclude without recording my conviction that, however pure a founder's aims may be, no really healthy religion can be founded on such a story as that of Kṛishṇa and the Gopīs; so that the whole series of sects we have been dealing with must be regarded as having found their way into wrong paths.

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KING LEAR AND THE WORLD CHAOS.

BY GEORGE CARSTAIRS.

AS the weary months and years of war have passed, pessimism has laid its cold hand on many a heart. So much that seemed stable has disappeared, so many beliefs in men and in Providence have proved false, that at times life has worn the aspect of a night of storm with no stars to guide and no sure footing. The most chilling thought of all is that the evil of these years is not due to some new inburst of malignant force into human nature or human life, but to something that lay there, unsuspected, all the time. War has been, as it were, a search-light penetrating to the darkest corners of the human soul and revealing the rottenness of much so-called civilisation. In spite of all our fine words, our ethics and poetry and creeds, it has seemed that selfishness is, after all, the basic motive, and that the Power that moves the world takes count of nothing but brute force. Three years of agony, of treasure and blood poured forth, of suffering unthinkable and tears unknown—what so far have they won? And in the end what can we hope for from them all? A victory, let us hope, that will satisfy our tired spirits, but certainly not the triumphant victory our first armies counted on, nor the overwhelming vindication of our cause which we feel its justice merits.

“The failure of Christianity” is a phrase on the lips of many, even of those who thought little about Christianity in the past, but the most paralysing doubt is not whether this or that gospel has failed, but whether in such a world any gospel at all is possible, whether after all the Power at

the heart of the universe is not indifferent to questions of right and wrong, and the heaviest gun the final argument.

In such a mood we may with profit turn for help to that master-mind to which few aspects of life did not at one time or another make their appeal. Walter Bagehot, in one of the best essays ever written about Shakespeare, describes him as being above all an "experiencing man." In his own person he seemed to live a hundred lives. As we read his plays we feel there is no human experience he has not known. It may seem strange to turn to Shakespeare for an example of the pessimistic mood. We remember the stirring period in which he lived. Life in sixteenth century London was many-sided, full of change and colour, full of the exhilaration that came with the new knowledge of the vastness of the world. These men lived on a little island, but their thoughts, as well as their ships, went out to the ends of the earth. As it had been the ideal of the Greek culture of two thousand years before that a man should be all-round in his training, able to appreciate art and literature yet able to play his part in every form of activity, so again in the days of Elizabeth we find men like Raleigh, Sidney and Spenser, equally skilled to sail a ship, lead an army or write a poem. Shakespeare was of this catholic company, and the greatest of them all; and his plays reflect the man in his strangely ranging moods. The gay laughter of careless happy hours, family affections, cares of State, the proud confidence of the strong man, the vacillating doubts of the weak, the triumph of victory and the agony of defeat, the philosophic peace of a Prospero and the wild ravings of a Lear, when the whole universe seemed a hostile chaos—all these and much more are so vivid and real in his pages that we cannot but feel that, whether directly or through the intensity of his sympathetic insight and imagination, this one great-hearted man has actually experienced them all.

And it is just because Shakespeare was no pessimist by temperament but a man of such sanity and breadth that it is so well worth while to try and grasp the thoughts that filled his mind when under the dark cloud.

There comes a time in every man's life when the exuberance of youth is gone, and thought takes the place of animal spirits. He begins to see that the world is no mere playground and life no merry game. Death and sorrow and things worse than these confront and oppress him. He sees the innocent suffer and injustice apparently triumph. He begins to doubt whether not only wicked men, but Fate or God—the Power behind all life—is not hostile or indifferent to goodness and justice and truth. Shakespeare plumbed that hour of darkness to its depth, and like the great honest soul he was, he painted faithfully every terror of that hideous night. For him did any stars break through? Did he find any key to the dark riddle? Such are the questions to which we seek an answer as we read *King Lear*.

The world of this play is a strange nightmare world. Calamity follows calamity in utter disproportion to the foolishness on the old King's part which let the evil loose. One by one the good characters are overwhelmed by a malignant fate. Events conspire against them, the very elements lend their aid to torture them, and men and women with brutish souls hound them to their death. Some critics, with facile optimism, have found a sufficient meaning or purpose in it all in what they call the "purification" or "redemption" of King Lear. His soul undoubtedly was purified. Agony of mind that drove him mad, physical suffering that bowed his old frame down, these at last won for him a sweet and humble gentleness that make him one of the most loveable characters in all literature. The world has done its worst to him and, old and broken, in his heart is born a childlike, beautiful

simplicity that can find happiness with Cordelia even in a prison cell :—

“No, no, no, no, come let’s away to prison.
We two alone will sing like birds in a cage.
When thou dost ask me blessing. I’ll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness. So we’ll live
And pray and sing and tell old tales and laugh
At gilded butterflies ; and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news, and we’ll talk with them too—
Who loses and who wins, who’s in, who’s out.
And take upon us the mystery of things
As if we were God’s spies.”

But even after the “purification” is accomplished, no such aftermath of peace is allowed. With meaningless cruelty Fate deals another and yet another blow. Cordelia is hanged and Lear’s great heart bursts. If Lear’s redemption be the object of all his suffering, why should the suffering still mount up when its object is accomplished.

An added horror is lent to the play by the reduplication of the plot. Not only Lear’s daughters are unfilial, cruel and false, but Gloster’s favourite son also proves the cold-blooded enemy of his own father. Filial ingratitude appears no abnormal, unnatural thing but something having place in human life. It is an evil, evil world that is pictured in the play and filled with evil characters. Edmund, the arch-blackguard, scheming his brother’s ruin and his father’s death ; Goneril and Regan, the marble-hearted ; Oswald, the contemptible time-server ; the Duke of Albany, weakly ruled by his wife ; the Duke of Cornwall supporting his in her devilry—what are we to make of a human nature that can produce types like these ? Shakespeare himself seems to see all the evil traits of the brute world forcing themselves up into the human heart. Dr. Bradley points out that in no other play are so many animals named to describe the characters of men, and always in an evil sense. The dog, the pig, the lion, the

wolf, the fox, the rat, the monkey, the pole-cat, are but a few of them. Goneril is a kite, her ingratitude has a serpent's tooth, her face is wolvis, her cruelty has fangs like a boar. She and her sister are dog-hearted ; they are tigers, not daughters ; they are adders. Oswald is a mongrel, a wagtail, a goose and so on. " As we read, the souls of all the beasts seem to have entered these mortals ; horrible in their venom, savagery, lust, sloth, deceitfulness, cruelty, filthiness."

The very elements themselves seem in league with these brutish spirits to persecute and to destroy the good. There is something terribly pathetic in King Lear's appeal to the heavens :—

" You see me here, you gods, a poor old man,
As full of grief as age, wretched in both ; "

and the answer that immediately comes—storm and tempest. Man and nature seem combined to wipe out the good from the face of the earth.

Little wonder that the characters themselves are driven to reflect on life and that the question, " what rules the world ? " is forced upon them. Each according to his nature makes some attempt to answer. King Lear cries out in bewilderment, " then let them anatomise, Regan, see what breeds about the heart. Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts ? " Kent would lay the whole blame on the stars, —

" It is the stars,
The stars above us govern our condition."

Edmund mocks at those who lay the blame of their own sins on the planets :—

" We make guilty of our disasters, the sun, the moon, and the stars ; as if we were villains by necessity, fools by compulsion, and all that we are evil in by a divine thrusting on."

Edgar, a good character of no great depth, preserves an easy faith :—

“ Think that the clearest gods, who make them honours
Of man’s impossibilities, have preserved thee.”

Gloster finds the gods but cruel and vindictive :—

“ As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods ;
They kill us for their sport.”

What did Shakespeare himself think of it all ? Was he a pessimist ? Did he regard the Ruling Power as cruel, unjust, or indifferent ? We cannot find an answer in any single line. A true dramatist, he makes his characters utter their own thoughts, not his. For answer we must trust to the impression left upon us by the play as a whole.

Terrible as the tragedy is, and full of horror, it certainly does not have the cramping and depressing effect upon our spirits which is the invariable result of pessimism. On the contrary we lay it down with a deeper sense than ever of the greatness of life and of its awe-inspiring mystery. When we have suffered with Lear and wept over Cordelia, we feel it not a less thing but a greater thing to be a man.

With Dr. Bradley again for guide, we may find reasons for this curious effect. In the first place, if the play abounds in British characters and terror-striking evil forces, it finds place also for the highest beauties of human nature, which shine with a steady light in that dark world. The pure, steadfast soul of Cordelia is such a shining light. True to herself she never falters in her self-forgetting love. Even at the end she mourns their downfall not for her own sake but for her father’s :—

“ For thee, oppressed King, I am cast down
Myself could else outfrown false fortune’s frown.”

The noble grandeur and sweet tenderness of Lear in the later scenes thrill us with their beauty. Who can ever forget the white-haired, tempest-smitten old man who

amid all his misery has a vision of the outcasts of the earth :—

“ Poor naked wretches wheresoe’er you are
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides
Your looped and windowed raggedness defend you
From season’s such as these ? ”

Kent and Edgar and the faithful Fool are men whose sterling qualities make our hearts go out to them. When we would condemn the world that produces rogue and villains, we must at least remember that that same world produced these great souls too.

Again, we find that while evil does exercise a terrible power, it is a power for destruction only. Whatever else may be said about the world, this is certain, it is so constituted that evil can create nothing in it but can only break up and destroy. Nay, more than this, evil destroys not only others but itself. Every villain in the play is ruined at the end, for evil is a principle of self-destruction.

Further, we find that there is one thing which evil, even in its most violent form, cannot destroy, cannot even touch, namely, true goodness. Lear, Cordelia, Kent—not one of these from all the suffering adds one stain to his soul. On the contrary evil is often the unconscious means whereby goodness grows. One would not hesitate to choose which one would rather be, Lear the vain, pompous, irritable old monarch, seated on his throne, or Lear as he was before his death—Lear with his mind humbled through suffering, his eyes purged with tears and his heart filled with tender love. And who would not share Cordelia’s devotion in the prison cell rather than reign with Regan and have her cruel heart ?

Through all the stress and agony of the play, we learn, like Lear himself, to have a new estimate of the value of things. We learn that pomp and power, comfort and prosperity, all that the world applauds and prizes are

vanity, and that love and truth and goodness of heart are the only things worth having. So, after all, this great destructive power of evil can destroy only that which is itself worthless, and on the true treasures of life, cannot lay a hand. Above all from King Lear we learn this greatest of all lessons, that goodness, nobleness of character, is the one priceless, imperishable thing; of value not for any worldly prosperity or comfort it may bring, but for its own sake alone.

The nightmare world of King Lear has become the waking world of to-day. Even before the war, many good men had been facing more frankly than ever the problem of the pain and evil that are in the world. It was the difficulty which ministers of religion found most commonly urged by honest sceptics. It lay at the basis of much crude socialism. It coloured the virile philosophy of Nietzsche and lent influence to Christian Science and Theosophy. Some, like Sir Francis Younghusband in his charming and sincere book, *Within*, wrote somewhat naively, as though they were almost the first to have been troubled by the question, as though there had been no *Doctrine of Karma*, no *Book of Job*, no *King Lear*. But indeed, in all ages, men have pondered in vain, for no clear answer ever has been found. War and its ghastliness have made the problem urgent, and have pressed it home upon the hearts, not of philosophers alone, but of every thinking man and woman. Daily the newspapers bring visions of battle fields strewn with dead, of crowded hospitals and desolate homes. We know that no victory can undo the evil, bring back these young lives, or comfort those sad hearts. We know, too, millions of the poor will be poorer still because so great a part of the world's wealth that might have fed and clothed them has been blown into the air or sunk to the bottom of the sea. It is a world dark as the world of *Lear* we have been looking on. Cruelties as hideous as the gouging out of

Gloster's eyes, have been perpetrated, women as innocent as Cordelia have been ravished and slain, treachery and devilish wickedness as gross as Goneril's and Regan's have characterised whole nations ; until men have cried again :—

“ Is there any cause in nature
That makes these hard hearts ? ”

But before we despair of “ nature ” or humanity, we must take count of the stars that to-day, as in Lear's world, still shine unquenchable. There have been lights of honour and nobility and high self-sacrifice shining as clearly as through the souls of Cordelia and Kent and Lear himself. It is possible to find books about the war by writers like Patrick McGill who, whether in peace or war, seem to see little but what is mean and sordid and cruel in life ; but by far the greater part of what we read tells of high ideals, rare courage and true self-sacrifice. Men who were living in careless comfort have been shaken rudely awake and made to face the supreme facts of right and wrong as they had never done before. If it has done nothing else the war has brought home again to the world that right is right and wrong is wrong, and that these are in the end the only vital matters for humanity. Truth between man and man has been shown to be the one true foundation of society ; falseness to one's pledged word the unpardonable sin. And, as in Lear, it has again been made plain that, whatever suffering violence may cause, it can never touch the true treasures of the soul—honour and truth and faith.

One would like to quote instances of men who, not in ones and twos but in hundreds, have risen to the highest heights ever known in history ; of the officer who flung himself down upon a bursting bomb to save his comrades ; of the lad on the battleship who remained for hours alone at his post with his life's blood ebbing from him lest he might still be needed ; of the four sailors at

the battle of Jutland who, when their own ship was sunk, and they themselves were clinging for life to some floating wreckage, could still wave a hand and cheer another battleship as it swept past them into action. But the list would be endless. Often it is the humbler less dramatic incidents that show best the spirit of the hour. A few months ago a little boy of twelve lay dying in his home in Scotland. He was conscious to the end, and when his mother completely broke down, he whispered "cheer up, mother! You must be like the soldiers. Cheer up!" They were his last words before his brave little soul went out into the dark alone. Only a few weeks ago a common, uneducated, soldier-lad in hospital was describing unsuccessful attempts by the fleet to capture a Turkish position whose guns were so well protected in the sand as to make shelling almost futile, "we'll have to send a landing party and rush it. Of course," he said quite simply. "We can't take a place like that without paying for it, but *we've just got to get it.*" One can imagine a general or admiral speaking like that, but, coming from one of those who with their own lives must pay the cost, it opens a window into the souls of common men.

It is not, however, of individuals that we think especially when we reflect on what the allied nations have attained. We have seen Belgium, which like ourselves had not always trod the highest path, winning glory out of ruin and creating for herself a tradition that will be worth more to her than all the world's wealth. We remember the hundreds of thousands who, before conscription came, recognising the evil thing that threatened the world, left wife and children to combat it. We remember the women who let their men folk go, and turned to throw themselves into such work as they could do. We remember the merchant fleet of which it has been proudly said that not a single officer or man has sought to change his job in spite of daily deadly peril.

And if still anyone cavil and ask, "But has it been worth while? What are we to get for all the terrible cost? Will Germany be thoroughly beaten? Shall we ever get any indemnities out of her, or land to compensate for all our losses, or a real guarantee of permanent peace? We may reply that such a doubter is comparing things that are incomparable. He is like one who would measure a palm with a foot-rule. For if we "sow to the spirit" it is spiritual fruit and not material that we would gather. The gain will be represented not by indemnities or land or treaties, but by a new England and France and Europe, a new spirit among men. The guarantee of that new spirit is that it has already come.

When all is over it is lines like those of Rupert Brooke, that will ring down the ages as our memorial of the Great War :—

"Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead!
There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,
But, dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold.
These laid the world away; poured out the red
Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
Of work and joy; and that unhoped serene,
That men call age; and those who would have been,
Their sons, they gave, their immortality.

Blow, bugles, blow! They brought us, for our dearth,
Holiness, lacked so long, and Love, and Pain.
Honour has come back, as a king, to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And nobleness walks in our way again;
And we have come into our heritage."

This looming peril and the shock of war opened men's eyes to the heritage that was theirs and made them stretch forth hands to grasp it. If again we lose it, it will not be through anything Germany with all her might may do, but because we ourselves unfaithful, have loosed our grasp and let it go.

GEORGE CARSTAIRS.

Beawar.

ISPAHAN.

BY F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, I.C.S.

ISPAHAN Nisf-i-Jehan—Ispahan is half the world—is the proud boast of the Ispahanis and though in the twentieth century much of its glory, like that of all else in Persia, has departed, enough of its splendour has survived to prove that it was once not unworthy of the boast. At one time the capital of all Persia, it was the city beloved of Shah Abbas and Fath Ali Shah, who adorned it with all the skill and art that Persian workmanship could devise. Everything is on a magnificent scale and while its frescoes and mosaics far exceed anything that modern art can produce, its splendid bridges and its great square rival even the finest triumphs of modern skill either in East or West.

The great square, the Meidan-i-Shah, in the heart of Ispahan, is one of the largest public squares in the world. Planned and laid out by that great builder and designer Shah Abbas, it is no less than five hundred and sixty yards long by a hundred and seventy-four yards wide. In the old days it was crowded during the national religious festivals, the sides and centre lined with rows of stalls and booths where all the merchandise that Persia could produce was temptingly displayed. At other times it was cleared that the nobles of the Court might play the game of pell-mell, the forerunner of the modern polo, or that the Shah himself might give some exhibition of his skill. Both Shah Ismail and Shah Sefi the First were fond of showing their prowess on horseback to the admiration of the Court and populace. They were expert horsemen if tradition speaks true. One of the feats at least in which they delighted would need all the skill of the modern

winner of Gymkhana prizes. In the centre of the square a mast or maypole was erected, some twenty-five feet high, on the top of which was placed an orange or melon to be shot at with an arrow as the horseman galloped past. Amongst people in whom reverence for the King of Kings and devotion to horsemanship were ingrained characteristics such exhibitions of skill on the part of their rulers created immense enthusiasm.

On each of the four sides of the square there is a building of special beauty. On the northern side stands the Nakkara Khaneh, the Drum Tower, from which in days gone by the musicians at sunset sent forth the discordant sounds of tambour, trumpet, drum, flute and cymbal that proclaimed the presence of royalty in the city. It is a fine gateway, with arched galleries above for musicians, forming an imposing entrance to the great covered-in bazar that is one of the finest in all Persia. Within, under the arched roofs, are rows on rows of stalls displaying their wares to tempt the never-ending streams of passers-by. It is a strange crowd, typical of the East. This is the second largest trading mart in Persia and in spite of the decay that has overtaken this one time capital of the Sefavi Kings, in other ways its commercial prosperity has not waned. Almost all the imports have done the long five hundred-mile journey by road from Bushire on the Persian Gulf, and they consist chiefly of English and European goods, of cotton cloths from Manchester, of crockery and candles from England, of woollen stuffs from Germany and Austria, of loaf sugar from Marseilles and brown sugar from Java and Mauritius, and of tea from India and China. Among articles of native manufacture there are silver and brass ornaments and enamels and the far-famed Persian carpets.

Above the archway once stood an enormous clock said to have been made by an Englishman for Shah Abbas. The maker, however, soon after he had set it

in its place was killed in a quarrel and no one knew how to keep the clock in working order. Consequently when it stopped a few hours after his death no one was able to make it go again and so it remained, with true Persian apathy, for over two hundred years until it was finally removed at the beginning of last century. Above the clock once hung a big bronze bell, plundered from a Portuguese nunnery at Ormuz upon which were engraved the words "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis mulieribus"—a strange inscription to look down upon the fanatical Muhammadan Ispahanis in their great square. The bell has also disappeared, having been taken down some time early in the nineteenth century to be melted into cannon.

On the southern side of the square stands its chief glory, the Musjid-i-Shah, the Royal Mosque of Ispahan. It was one of the finest of all the works of Shah Abbas and is said to have cost no less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. The splendid front of the mosque with its immense dome and four flanking minarets is a blaze of colour, the tiles that cover the cupola being arranged in an exquisite pattern of dark blue and green on a pale blue ground, while the minarets flash with gold. Although two Englishmen in disguise once obtained access to the sacred precincts, the unbeliever is rigorously excluded even from the outer Court. Within the mosque among its treasures are said to be the bloodstained coat worn by Hussein on the day of his death and a copy of the Koran written by the Iman Reza.

On the eastern side of the square is the mosque of Sheikh Lutfullah, the mosque of the Chief Priest of Ispahan. Its dome is a mass of blue and gold mosaics making a glorious patch of colour against the perfect blue of the sky and the exquisite freshness of the *chenar* trees that grow beside it. Opposite on the western side of the square is the famous Ali Kapi, the gate of sanctuary. In the old days this was the chief entrance to the palace

precincts which covered an enormous tract of ground away to the river and beyond. Across the gateway is still stretched a heavy chain behind which he who takes refuge has *bast* or sanctuary and is safe from arrest or punishment. Within the precincts of the palace of the King of Kings none dared touch the worst criminal who had taken sanctuary. Above the gateway is a fine verandah, the roof supported by eighteen wooden columns and here in the olden days the Shah gave audience or looked down upon the sports in the great square below.

Behind the Ali Kapi lies the Chehal Sittun, the Hall of the Forty Pillars which was once the *Talar* or open throne room of the palace. Here the King of Kings showed himself in state to his subjects on special days such as the great festival of No Ruz, the Muhammadan New Year's Day. Originally built by Shah Abbas, it was restored by Shah Sultan Hussein, and contains six enormous oil paintings extraordinarily well preserved and depicting Persian life as it was in the heyday of the Sefavi Kings with life-like fidelity. One of the scenes represents Shah Abbas receiving the Ambassador of the great Moghul, a company of musicians enlivening the feast while dancing girls, disporting themselves in complete abandonment, play upon castanets and tambourines. In another picture the Shah leads his cavalry against the Uzbek Tartars, while in a third is depicted the triumph of Nadir Shah over Sultan Mahomed.

Beyond lies the splendid avenue thirteen hundred and fifty yards long that led from the Royal Palace to the river. It is a magnificent avenue even in decay. Though many of the buildings that flanked it in former days have gone the fine Mudrasseh-i-Shah-Hussein still remains, its dome and minarets a blaze of blue and gold. At the further end is the bridge of Ali Verdi Khan, one of the chief glories of the city. It is the finest of the five bridges that span the Zende Rud in the immediate

vicinity and is one of the stateliest bridges in the world. Three hundred and eighty-eight yards long, the width of its central roadway is ten yards. On either side is a covered promenade, two and a half feet wide in the thickness of the outer wall, while above is a platform or open verandah where in the cool of the evening the Ispahanis were wont to take their airing. The covered walk looks out on to the river and on to the roadway through a series of ninety open winches on either side, while below is a vaulted passage running the full length of the bridge thus giving a triple promenade to foot passengers. It is a charming vista that opens out in front and on either side as one walks along the Ali Verdi Bridge. At the further end through a great stone gateway there is a glimpse of the grand Chehal Bagh avenue with the blue domes and golden minarets of the city beyond. On either side framed in the arches on either hand are charming glimpses of the river and the open country beyond with here and there one of the picturesque tower-like pigeon houses that abound near Ispahan standing out among the trees. At the further end of the bridge lies the suburb of Julfa with its interesting Armenian and Christian associations.

Six miles away from Ispahan to the west are the Minari Jumban, the shaking minarets of Guladan. It is a fascinating drive there through the narrow streets on the outskirts of the town and through country lanes disclosing charming glimpses of narrow streams overhung by willows and the ever green *chenars*. The minarets, above the tomb of Shekh Abdulla, of whom no memory but his name survives, rise twenty feet, a platform of some thirty feet separating them. Inside each is a spiral staircase and the attendant mounting one of them, by swaying to and fro, succeeds in rocking it from side to side, a motion which is by some means communicated to the other minaret in spite of the thirty feet that separate them. It is an

extraordinary sight to see the two minarets swaying as if agitated by some unseen movement beneath the earth. Why the motion of the one should impart itself to the other remains unexplained since no motion is observable in the building that lies between them.

Such in a brief glance is Ispahan and he who has spent long days in exploring its beauties and upon whom the spirit of the place has fallen will not fail to sympathise with the Ispahanis even in their proud boast of "Ispahan Nisf-i-Jehan. "

F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT.

Jessore.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONS.

BY SIGMA MINUS

CONSIDERING the number and magnitude of the mistakes made by the German Government in regard to the mental make-up of the nations with which it has to deal, it is curious that in no part of the world was the study of *Volker-psychologie*, or national psychology, carried to such extremes as in Germany, before her hour had struck. The *locus classicus* on the subject is perhaps the medley of clap-trap called "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," composed by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and published broadcast throughout the German Empire under the imperial *imprimatur* of William II. The thesis of this book is, shortly and simply, that no good thing can, or ever has, come out of any place but Germany ; but it does not appear to have occurred either to the author or to his patron, that the one being an Englishman *pur sang*, and the other a grandson of Queen Victoria, both were logically and morally estopped from advancing any such thesis, whatever its intrinsic merits. The twaddle so solemnly and sedulously preached by Treitschke and his school about *Pöbelvolk* and *Herrenvolk*, nations fit to strafe or to be strafed, is another glaring example of the zeal which so often blinds your convert to patent facts ; if the distinction exists at all between Teuton and Slav, on which Treitschke so much insisted, then Treitschke himself, like so many other north Germans was not a Teuton, but a Slav, and a member of a *Pöbelvolk*, whose only function is to tremble and obey in the presence of its masters.

It is almost a generation since Huxley showed that the similar subdivision of western Europeans into Celts

and Teutons was a popular and political myth, without foundation in ethnology or history. The subsequent, if tardy, recognition of this fact in the very seats of learning, which at one time were foremost in preaching and teaching Teutonic propaganda, until Anglo-Saxon became almost a synonym for British, has not yet been embodied in popular opinion, owing chiefly to the necessities of politicians, and generally party politicians at that. The whirligig of time, however, has allied us with "Celts," "Slavs" and "Latin Sisters," and forced us to fight for our lives against a nation of supermen and blond beasts much more Teutonic than ourselves. We are at length in the right frame of mind for scrutinising genealogical trees; whether national or personal, they are not apt to be published without ulterior motives, and all alike are discounted by the philosophic maxim that origin does not affect validity. We are no longer such easy marks for ethnological inexactitudes, strung together in "the land of damned professors," or elsewhere, concealing a complete and inevitable lack of evidence behind a *camouflage* of Greek words like dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, and screening with Protean facility the same stupid struggle for self-glorification under neologisms, like Nordic, which mean nothing at all; just as the words Celtic, Teutonic and Slav meant nothing at all, until the damnable iteration of political fallacies endowed them with connotations which still remain subjective.

There is little doubt that outside Germany the doctrine of racial superiority is rapidly approaching the condition vulgarly known as fly-blown. Many causes have conspired together to produce this result. The very universality of the doctrine was bound to prove fatal to it sooner or later, and the consideration, *quod semper, quod ubique quod ab omnibus*, has in fact reduced it to absurdity. There seems to have been no congeries of men which at one time or

another has not claimed to be a chosen race, entitled to treat the rest of the world as it pleased. Often, as in the case of the ancient Greeks, and the undistinguished mass of mankind which they lumped together under the comprehensive term "barbarians," the claim has been advanced with a certain plausibility. On the whole, however, the trick has been tried too often; the mutation of names no longer conceals the identity of the fable. Besides, in too many instances, Hellenes, otherwise authentic enough, have been the sons of barbarian parents; still worse, there have been too many authentic barbarians whose parents have been Hellenes. It would be an interesting but endless task to make out a list of men of alien antecedents, belonging to the class which short-sighted nations to their own undoing kept out of their polity as *metoikoi*, or Uitlanders, who have both deserved and commanded success in the countries of their adoption. The most arresting figure in the history of France was only a Corsican. Gambetta was the son of an Italian grocer. Joffre is a Catalan. The founder of the Jingo school of imperialism, true blue Tory, and Prime Minister of England, was a Dago and a Jew; as for that matter was the forgotten Don Pacifico on whose behalf Palmerston advanced and maintained the famous claim, *civis Britannicus est*. The great von Moltke was a Dane, who learnt the art of war in the Danish Sandhurst, and held his first commission in the same Danish Army which he defeated as a German in 1864. The record of the Scotch and Irish outside Ireland and Scotland is notorious. Sir Douglas Haig is a Scotchman. The grand fleet at the most critical juncture in history is commanded by an Irishman from the county Wexford, whose one time First Lord of the Admiralty hails, despite his politics, not from Ulster, but likewise from the south of Ireland. The culminating example of how far the limits of nationality can be extended is Lord Milner, the son

of a German, and born and bred in Germany. These instances are not isolated, but typical; every man in every country knows numbers of similar cases in humbler spheres of action; and whatever theoretical opinions he or his favourite journals may express, he is aware that in real life he has to take men and women as he finds them, and not as they ought to be according to pedigree or politics.

The results of control experiments in human nature, conducted on a maximum scale in the new countries overseas, have done even more to mitigate racial and national prejudices, by showing the accidental or fictitious character of the differences on which they are based. The ease and rapidity with which the new nations assimilate and transform into Americans or Canadians, Australians or Argentinos, the most diverse products of European civilisation and barbarism, and the prosperity and success which some of the least promising immigrants achieve in a new environment, have convinced the more acute minds everywhere that national characteristics are figments of the imagination, popular, literary or journalistic, and traceable in the last resort to the indolent love of labels which is one of the marks of the herd mind. Some of the ablest Americans, who after all have more material at their command than any one else for the formation of a sound judgment, assert roundly that to be prejudiced for or against Frenchmen or Swedes, Italians or Russians, *as such*, is simply a form of provincialism which is or ought to be obsolete. It is certainly remarkable that in former days the same sort of prejudices were freely entertained for and against the various parts of a single country, which obtain now only as to the parts of a continent. We have outgrown the spirit which compared a Yorkshireman to a flea, a fly and a flitch of bacon. The spirit of men like Oliver Goldsmith's sailor, who hated all Frenchmen, because they were slaves,

wore wooden shoes, and ate frogs, is at the bottom the same spirit, and doomed to the same obsolescence. An exception is certain to be made in disfavour of the Huns; but it is significant that in the case of our other enemies, Turkish, Hungarian and Austrian, it has been not only possible, but fashionable, to distinguish *au dessus de la mêlée* between individuals and institutions, peoples and governments; and this in spite of a constant supply of atrocities quite up to the German standard of frightfulness, both in quality and number. If only to avoid being handicapped for the future by vague and indeterminate prejudices due to unsatisfied feelings of resentment, it is of the last importance that the retribution exacted by the allied nations be complete and definite, both in time and in extent.

However this may be, and whatever opinions we and our friends the enemy may entertain of each other after the war, nothing can counterbalance the solid good achieved by fighting our way through Armageddon at the side of our present Allies. As the Huns have pointed out, we constitute a *Zehnbund*: no longer a triple entente, but a decimal alliance. Although our friendship for some of its members cannot but be "watery" in comparison with our feelings for Belgium and France, it is nevertheless clear that we must learn to think internationally. We cannot afford to be picky and choosy, since there is no room or time for race-hatred in the modern world, either in peace or in war—least of all in war. Even within our own Empire this intellectual lumber has had to be scrapped. Our brother Boer has become our brother Boer, no longer in scorn and hatred, but as a literal fact, which we are not too proud to advertise.

A similar change of mind regarding the Irish at home might prove equally salutary, if only to show the world that *odisse quem laeseris*, is not among the *arcana* of the

British Empire. It would never have been possible to build or maintain anything as great as the British Empire on a mere *jus sanguinis*, or tie of blood. Often, as in the original American colonies, the tie has proved most slender just where the blood has been thickest.

The United Kingdom itself has never reduced its various nations to a racial amalgam. The fundamental fact is now apparent, that our unity is political and moral, and rests upon the more enduring basis of intellectual kinship and devotion to common ideals and institutions. All the same, the more general recognition of these intra-imperial truths, excellent though it be, can scarcely prove a more valuable acquisition to the Empire than the newly won friendship of the French Republic. The completeness with which many of us have boxed the compass in regard to France, is a curious instance of the celerity with which events and opinions move in modern times. It is not a score of years since Lord Northcliffe and the type of man whom he echoes and incites were urging us on to roll our hereditary enemies in mud and blood, having first allied ourselves for the achievement of this end with the United States and the German Emperor. How the United States were to be induced to row in such a galley, was not explained; but your Chauvinist, though all for war at any price with anybody, likes to have lots of allies before taking on a first class power. Inconsistently enough, it was generally put about and widely believed, that France far from being first class was "degenerate;" though if so, what credit could be gained by defeating her at war was left to the imagination. Inquiries as to the precise meaning of degeneracy, as predicated of 30 or 40 millions of people, were impatiently parried by assertions, *e.g.*, that the French were anti-militarist, interested in nothing but sex and, either *post* or *propter hoc*, a nation of wretched physique. We now all admit, what anybody with an

open mind knew then, how baseless these charges were. It is not Marianne who has altered, nor even John Bull ; but their politics, which now allow them to appreciate each other's merits. Not being industrialised and overpopulated to the same extent as parts of Germany and England, owing entirely to her comparative lack of coal and iron, France remains overwhelmingly agricultural ; and as the inevitable consequence of a country life in a splendid climate, the French people in fact possess better physique than their industrialised neighbours, who have multiplied the nation and not increased the joy. Sexual morality works out at much of a muchness wherever large numbers of men and women are in consideration. Most Frenchmen have long been educated into facing facts and calling spades spades in sexual as in other matters ; whereas some of their neighbours still mistake reticence for decency and think it as well to assume a virtue if you have it not. As for anti-militarism, we have all had to become anti-militarist, even to the point of casting out devils by Beelzebub. For the rest, the elimination of political bias has left us free to exercise our common sense, and we can see that one Frenchman differs from another quite as much as one Englishman from another. In either case, it is quite unsafe to argue from the general to the particular.

Apart from its intrinsic value, the lesson we have learned in the case of France cannot fail to bear fruit in our relations with other countries, and in our opinions of their inhabitants. Both the bulk of the English people and the genuine English aristocracy have been and still are distinguished by a large minded tolerance and readiness to accept the individual foreigner or anyone else at his own valuation—qualities which have enabled us to assimilate rapidly and to the great benefit of the country, not only Welshmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, but Flemings and Huguenots, Lombards and Scandinavians, Dutchmen

and Poles, Russians and Germans. That sure index of barbarism, the voice of the anti-Semite, has seldom been heard in the land. It is due to this healthy confidence in our ability to absorb anybody, that there have been so few periods of stagnation in English History. The fertilising stream of new ideas in every department of the national life has never run dry.

Our civilisation like our language and our literature, is derivative, not autochthonous, and no elements are too exotic to fit into the wonderful mosaic of our Empire. It is not for nothing that the nation itself and the cream of its governing classes have acquired the priceless political assets of a short memory, and a spirit of compromise which have spared us the periods of exhaustion and decay frequent in the history of more narrow-minded nations. All the same, there is room for improvement, especially in that class, just below the highest, which, curiously enough, is much less English, less racy of the soil, than either the upper ten or the demos, being too often linked up with the general life of the people by nothing more personal or national than a dividend warrant. Conscious, not infrequently, of an alien origin themselves, it is among them that unreasoning fear of the foreigner survives longest, together with an atavistic hankering after his most un-English institutions. They are apt to forget that to a genuine patriot the profession of patriotism is indecent. Doctor Johnson roundly dubbed it the last refuge of a scoundrel—just as the word gentleman is seldom used among gentlemen. Moreover, in foreign as in party politics, they are too often actuated by the *verneinender Geist*, or spirit of negation, which inevitably finds that the easiest way to be British is to appear anti-something else. In view of the *volte face* which this very class has performed in the case of France, it is not being too optimistic to hope that it will consent to revise, in accordance with the facts, its estimates of the Japanese Empire, the

United States of America, and one or two other countries, which it would be treason to add to the list of our potential enemies. Sooner or later, we shall all be cured of the dangerous habit of heaving half-bricks at strangers—we shall hark back to Sir Thomas Browne, the most English of Englishmen, who, anticipating by centuries the Irishman Burke, deprecated “the reproach of whole Nations wherein by opprobrious Epithets we miscall each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.” Some of us may even become enlightened enough to repeat his boast :—

“Those National repugnances do not touch me nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch I am in England everywhere and under any Meridian.”

SIGMA MINUS.

PRINCIPLES OF REFORM IN RELIGION.

BY PROF. A. G. WIDGERY, M.A.

IN almost every age and in almost every religion there are some earnest minds who have a keen feeling of dissatisfaction with the prevailing forms of religious life. If these are men of power they become active reformers who leave some mark upon the religious life of a small or a large circle of their religious confrères. If they do not possess this power they live a quiet life of mysticism, often conforming in externals with their brethren, but in their hearts experiencing a deeper faith.

In our age with its general advance of higher education in nearly all countries, and with the intercourse which exists between all peoples, there is evidence in nearly all religions of a desire for a better condition of religious life. This is the desire not merely of a few reformers but is shared in by a very large proportion of educated men who are brought to think about religion. The question of the nature of reform in religion is thus becoming more and more felt to be an important social problem, for not infrequently the prevailing conditions of religion are opposed to social progress in other directions. All attempts at actual reform, however much their success may depend upon the enthusiasm and vigour of those who strive for it, will also be affected by the amount of intelligent comprehension of the principles which should control such attempts. The following discussion of these principles must, of necessity, be brief.

Two views, very largely opposed one to the other, have usually been, and still are held as to the main problem. According to one, the position of the rigidly orthodox,

there is nothing at fault with the religion itself, with its doctrines and practices or the feelings associated with them. What is wrong is the attitude of men and women to these, their mere repetition of doctrines with no real attempt to understand their import, their mechanical observance of the practices, their lack of genuine religious feeling. Here the way of reform does not lie at all in the consideration of the nature and the forms of the religion, but in the adoption of means to arouse men from their apathy and indifference. Frequently those who have adopted this view have strongly opposed all interference with doctrinal formularies and practices, as simply implying a compromise of whole-heartedness with indifference. According to the other view men and women are by nature essentially religious but their dissatisfaction with its prevailing forms has led to neglect of them, and often to a consequent lack of forms of social religious worship so necessary for the religious life of most men. Here the way of reform lies chiefly in the modification and re-interpretation of doctrines and practices, and there seems no hope of a wide and deep revival of religion until it has itself been moulded more to the needs of the age. The adherents of this second view resent the suggestion that men are in general apathetic to the higher demands of life. Careful observation will, we think, justify us in believing that each of these views represents on the positive side a part of the truth, but is wrong in rejecting or placing too little importance on the contention of the other view. It seems impossible to deny that men have become so engrossed in what we may call the secular sides of modern civilisation that the practical observances of religion have become all too frequently a matter of indifference. On the other hand, as this fact itself suggests, it is equally clear that the traditional forms of the religions do not make an appeal strong enough, rather in many instances they arouse keen opposition. Serious attempts at reform will take into

account these two sides of the problem, and endeavour to meet them intelligently.

Taking up the consideration of the requirements urged in the second view we may distinguish between the three interrelated aspects of religion ; the doctrines or beliefs : the practices, especially the rites and ceremonies ; and the feelings or emotional tone cultivated. Although all these are so closely bound together in actual religious life it is necessary to treat them separately. All questions with regard to doctrines eventually lead back to the fundamental one of the source from which doctrines are to be obtained. The conception of a sacred book which is dogmatically regarded as a direct revelation from God is, it should be frankly confessed, not one which appeals to the modern mind. That there are books of high spiritual value will be eagerly admitted, but they are no longer acceptable as a sort of external authority to the human spirit. On the other hand the reliance on mere reason has not led to a satisfactory result. The rationalism of the eighteenth century in the West reached its logical conclusion in the position of Hume and the criticism of Kant. Very much of the nineteenth century Idealism rested ultimately upon the recognition of some form of spiritual intuition, and the arising of new ideas in the human consciousness making for a higher life. In this, as well as in the more recent insistence on intuition (as in the philosophy of Bergson) there is a similarity with what the Greeks seem to have meant by knowledge in its highest sense, *gnosis*, as well as with much which is suggested in Eastern thought. Thus we are turned again to the sacred books : for in these we may find ideas which have come to the saints and religious leaders of humanity in the intensity of their religious experience, in the form, we might say, of intuitions. The question then arises as to the principle upon which these ideas are to be accepted or rejected ; for the

merely external authority of book or person no longer seems acceptable. The first test in actual life, whatever theoretical philosophers or theologians may say, is the test of essential harmony with the individual's own religious intuitions. In the second place there will be the test of reason by which will be meant the question of the consistency of the particular religious doctrines with the propositions accepted on other sides of life. If there is definite agreement, or if there is at least no opposition between these, the religious doctrines will be at once accepted. If, however, there is apparent contradiction doubt will be felt and though the religious doctrines may not be rejected they will be closely examined and an attempt made to solve the contradiction.

The modern attitude towards religious practices is becoming more and more clear as the nature of religion is empirically studied. Religious rites and ceremonies have to find their justification in relation to the beliefs and the feelings with which they are associated. On the one hand they may be forms of expression of the feelings, or an active embodiment of the logical implication of the beliefs. Or, on the other hand, they may be means taken to arouse and cultivate certain feelings or attitudes toward the object of religion or towards human beings. The question whether any particular religious practice should be purposely continued will thus depend upon its harmony or contradiction with the beliefs held, and upon the goodness or badness of the feelings or attitude it encourages. There are undoubtedly religious practices which cultivate the feeling of reverence and quiet dignity as does sincere prayer ; or joy and gladness as does frequently the chanting or singing of hymns. Some rites have a moral effect, emphasising certain moral responsibilities, and arousing feelings in reference to them, as those associated with the sacred-thread ceremony, marriage, and others. Some religious practices have no positive value, being the expression of superstitious

beliefs. Frequently these are productive of no particular harm : they are to be discouraged simply because they prolong the life of the superstition, and may stand in the way of higher beliefs. The keener appreciation of moral principles as such has led to the definite unflinching demand in modern times that so-called religious practices which are in conflict with these principles shall be entirely rejected. It is chiefly by consideration of the nature of the beliefs and the feelings associated with practices that true religion may be distinguished from magic.

A widespread conviction regards religion as essentially a matter of feeling, and this conviction appears in the main correct. This is not to say that ideas depend upon feeling, rather particular feelings are inseparately associated with certain ideas. Feelings and ideas very largely determine the nature of action, but action leads again to some form of feeling. The principle of religious reform is thus in this connection that good feelings shall be aroused and cultivated and bad ones suppressed. The chief question is concerning what feelings are to be approved and what disapproved. Theoretical difficulties may be raised here, but practically the question does not appear very difficult to answer. The attitude of faith, trust and hope is essentially that of religion as found in the forms which are recognised as the highest. Connected with these are joy and gladness, equanimity of mind, peace and calm. Above all are the emotions of benevolence and love, expressing themselves in active service, leading to joy and more love. Religion has to fight against certain feelings with which man is afflicted, as with those of fear and despair, of gloominess and restless anxiety. Even for feelings of grief and sorrow it has its antidote of faith that through them a more profound peace and joy is to be attained. In modern life the solidarity of the individual with the society and the race is a fact borne in upon us from all sides. One of the

demands of the modern reformer in religions is that it shall aid in the development of a consciousness of this solidarity, and in the intensifying of the social feelings. Now, though the aim of reform in religion will be to emphasise the good feelings, it must not be supposed that all experience of the other feelings will be entirely and absolutely avoided. As history has proved both positively and negatively, this would lead to an almost inevitable superficiality. Some of the greatest religious saints and reformers have experienced the depths of bitterness before attaining the heights of eternal peace, however differently they have represented the latter. We may think, for example, of the Buddha, of Paul, of Mahommet, of St. Augustine, and of Luther. The main principle of reform being as above stated, it is still clear that before the detailed policy can be adequately formulated a careful study of the emotional side of the religious lives of the great spiritual leaders of humanity is necessary.

Passing now to the consideration of the methods which might best serve in aiding the reform of religions we shall at the same time be able to indicate how the apathy and indifference of men, so far as it exists, may perhaps be overcome. Undoubtedly the first of all requirements is an enlightened and earnest priesthood. Without this most other forms of endeavour to bring about reforms are doomed more or less to failure. If the priests are to be able to impress the doctrines upon religious laymen they must seriously and sincerely believe them. But according to the requirement of an enlightened modern judgment this can only be if a man has spiritual intuition and the knowledge and capacity to judge doctrines. Thus the priest must have opportunity for religious meditation, and in addition he should have as broad an acquaintance with modern knowledge as is possible. The reformer will also strive to secure priests of known moral integrity and enthusiasm. To obtain cultured

spiritual priests is the task of tasks. In the past the limitation of the priesthood to particular groups of families probably served a very useful purpose : it may reasonably be maintained that to-day this custom militates against the best being achieved and should in consequence be discarded.

Associated in some degree with the demand for cultured priests is another for the provision of sound education in religion. Despite the practical difficulties something should be done in this direction from the village schools right up to and including the Universities. In a country such as India, with a number of religions, each of these should be represented in the Universities by one professor or lecturer giving the most enlightened instruction possible concerning his religion. If the intellectual consideration of religion were taken up in the Universities we might hope after a short time for the beginning of a religious literature suited to the needs of the modern man, and bearing in it the inspiration for further progress. For the traditional forms of religion make always for conservatism, the liberal forms almost always for progress and advance.

The problem as to how the practices of religion in their popular form are to be modified is perhaps the most difficult of all. There is most to be hoped for from the spread of education. But much might nevertheless be done if those who are earnestly religious and advocates of reform take an active and continuous part in the religious life of the community. Unfortunately the enlightened tend to neglect the practical observances of religion : that is simply abandoning the citadel to the forces of conservatism. The example and the careful judgment of the enlightened ought to be brought continually before their less educated brethren. More than this the sincerely religious should actively concern themselves with raising for discussion in their communities subjects of reform which appear to them urgent. For in many cases it is only in this way that the

“traditional” priests will be aroused from their apathy and indifference to genuine religion. By a decision of the community practices might eventually be changed in accordance with the requirements of a more enlightened conscience, and the unconsidered hostility of the majority of members of a community to individual progressive members lessened if not entirely overcome.

Into the question of the cultivation of good religious feelings it is impossible to enter here in detail ; and, as we suggested before, it will be largely met by the treatment of the doctrines and the practices of a religion. So much must, however, be said here : that if there is a reasoned desire for a deeper and more widely diffused social feeling, this can only be obtained by some form of corporate act or acts in which the individuals concerned will feel that they are in a real harmony of activity. In other words there must be some definite and regular form of corporate worship. The social effect, for example, of the combined prayer of the Muslims, or the congregational singing of Christians, cannot be denied. Many of the undesirable feelings at present evident in the religious life of the more or less uneducated will be outgrown only by the overthrow of the superstitions with which they are associated.

The need for reform in religions in India is indeed great and it will require the thought and the energy of all earnest men. Here it has been possible to consider only in a general manner the principles which seem to underlie reform. The actual steps to be taken in the particular cases must be left for those to decide who are intimately concerned with the particular religious communities. That in their attempts, if guided by common principles, the reformers in the different religions will come to appreciate religions other than their own in a truer light and with more respect will be not the least of the benefits of trying to make clear what these principles of reform in religions are.

THE RIVER STEAMER.

BY THOMAS CLOUGH.

THE traveller as he passes this way by road is entirely unprepared for the vision of Bora, for the place is confined like the railway within a wire fence, and its ugliness is the more shocking by reason of the suddenness of its appearance. Beyond the roadside village a few hundred yards away the glare of the sun is reflected from fields and distant trees in a hundred subdued shades of green and amongst the houses is veiled by the leaves of graceful bamboos overhanging the dusty road, but in Bora it beats down oppressively and resentfully upon as ungracious a scene as was ever laid in rural India.

There is a wide space traversed by roughly metalled roads and crossed in all directions by railways and the tracks of recently abandoned lines. Long rows of squalid cooly huts occur at intervals amongst barren and rubbish strewn spaces where still persist the little mud banks which divided field from field in happier days when growing paddy delighted the eye. Above the usual clatter of domestic life in these crowded tenements the occasional gramophone cackles and bawls in soulless harmony with its surroundings. No village market spreads itself comfortably and cleanly under the ample shade of great trees, for Bora was laid out over open field where there were no trees. But at intervals is a square of tiny shops built of bamboo and roofed with tiles or kerosene oil tins where, amidst dust and dirt, verminous dogs and unclean smells, the necessities and luxuries of life are purchased by the crowds of labourers and their families who have migrated temporarily from distant places to work on the railway. In his own home

where he has ample room over which to spread his domestic activities, unpleasant features are relegated to the background, and the Indian labourer can present a clean and pleasant front to the world. But where his house room is at all limited by industrial conditions he will not or cannot adjust himself to the arrangements made by his employers to secure the cleanliness of his surroundings, and, whatever is done for him, must needs live squalidly.

You may look down on Bora from a gigantic railway embankment which forms its southern boundary and see it spread out like a map at your feet. Between the cooly lines and the river is a settlement of neat houses and gardens for the railway officers, beyond this rise lofty hospitals, factories, workshops and offices, all in sultry red brick, while the northern extremity two miles away is obscured by the thin clouds of smoke which drift across a great railway yard. Down below the bewildered horse trips and stumbles over the worn surface of the roughly made road, as with ears well forward he gazes suspiciously at the unnatural objects around him and is ready to turn round and bolt when the prospect becomes too alarming for his nerves. On either hand the road is bordered by wire-fenced enclosures, once the home of the subordinate staff employed during the building of the great bridge across the river. Now all are gone save a few engaged in the ordinary routine of the railway. Some of the enclosures are desolate of all but the brick plinth of the little bungalow that used to stand there, in others a gaunt skeleton of framework has been left after the removal of doors, walls and windows, and of the few houses remaining very few are occupied. The engine drivers, firemen, pointsmen and coolies choose the least dilapidated of the tumble down huts which lie scattered in such profusion over the cinder strewn ground, there they deposit their brass pots and greasy bedding, and there,

dirty and careless, they eat and sleep amidst dirt and noise within a few yards of their work.

The roads, such as they are, specially lose themselves at the far end. Over a bewildering intricacy of railway lines and between dilapidated huts, smoky engine sheds and heaps of coal roll endless trains of wagons, and from morning to night the clatter of trucks, shriek of engine whistles and rattle of rivetters are borne heavenwards on great clouds of smoke.

It is a great relief as evening approaches and one goes to the river bank to wait for the steamer which calls daily on the long journey up stream, to leave the sights and sounds of Bora behind. Not all the din and dirt on its banks can disturb the serenity of the wide river, though the massive stone guide banks on either side have restrained its wanderings and have forced it to flow in the broad channel spanned by the great bridge. The steamer ghat therefore is established permanently at the end of the railway yard, and unlike other steamer ghats is not liable to sudden removals owing to the subsidence of the bank or the shoaling of the water under it. There is a bamboo hut filled with the dusty books and papers of the steamer station babu, next to it is a tin-roofed shed in which he may lock up such portable goods as attract thieves, and the slope of the bank below is covered with bales and baskets to be put on the steamer. Round the office are a few shops where passengers purchase cigarettes, sweatmeats, and cooked food during the hours or days of waiting for the uncertain steamer to arrive, and here a few men, mostly up-country labourers on their way home, are waiting with patient unconcern. A little higher up the bank beside a few dingy and deserted river steamers is a barge on which an engine puffs laboriously as it pumps water inland, while black smoke from its funnel drifts slowly across the ghat in the evening breeze. The bank here is crossed and re-crossed by ropes and

pipes, cumbered by a few decayed ship's boats, and interrupted by deep channels scoured by the rain water of months ago.

As the sun disappears behind the trees on the opposite bank a mile away, large ferry boats, old-fashioned looking black shapes upon the sober reflection of the brilliant colours of the sunset, move out slowly over the water, bearing men, women and cattle to their village homes across the river. Trudging stolidly in single file along the rough untidy path on the slope of the bank come little groups of men, each at the end of a rope from the masthead of a country boat. The steersman on the high stern keeps the craft clear of the boats lying along shore, while under the low bamboo roof amidships one of the crew bends over a smoky fire preparing the evening meal against the hour when once clear of the miscellaneous shipping of Bora, they will tie up to the bank for the night. Boat after boat passes slowly and quietly, the spray of cordage from each mast black against the sunset sky passing high over all obstacles. In the middle of the stream a few adventurous souls in search of a little relaxation are pursuing an erratic course in a strange vessel fitted with paddle wheels worked by hand, the abandoned toy of some departed mechanic. The ferry boats are lost to sight in the shades of the distant trees, the bright colours fade from sky and water, and the stars slowly appear in the violet sky as quiet night veils the placid river and stills the clamour of Bora. Only the pump puffs on spasmodically and distant engines whistle mournfully from the yard behind.

In the gathering darkness expectant passengers crowd round the babu's office and the little shops. Most of them huddled in their blankets sit silently in the gloom, but a cheerful group of men going home for a holiday vie with one another in extravagant tales of the glories of their home districts, and applaud noisily as each in turn strives

to outdo the romances of his companions. The babu retires to his office to make up his accounts by the light of a hurricane lantern, while his little son, a boy of seven or eight years old and most amazingly like his father, pores over his school books with a devotion almost deplorable in one so young. Hour after hour he sits there, his lips moving continuously in mechanical repetition of the task he is committing to memory, and though occasionally he raises his head to gaze with large round eyes at some stranger waiting in the office, he never ceases to mutter his lesson. His father spreads the contents of a bag of rupees over the back of a book and carefully stamps each coin with his rubber office stamp, to defeat any attempts to substitute bad rupees for his good ones before they reach his employers. He does not know when the steamer will come; yesterday evening it was up to time, but the day before it did not arrive till midnight, sometimes it did not come at all; there could be no certainty.

One of the little crowd on the river bank waiting for the steamer I strive to occupy the long hours of a cold winter evening. Close by is all my camp furniture, and round a fire they have made, with their umbrellas up that the hot air may comfort their cold ears, are seated my servants. The office shed is very old and the bamboo posts have acquired a decided slant in a recent cyclone. The interior, so far as can be seen in the feeble light, is very dusty and covered with cobwebs. There are no notices displayed that I have not seen before and no interesting time-tables to read; in fact there is nothing to interest except the placidity of the babu and his son. Outside on the bank there is nothing to see at all but the stars and the open furnace door of the pump engine on the barge. So I wander backwards and forwards between the office and the river in an endeavour to kill time as rapidly as possible, until, while I stare into the darkness downstream, a faint glow in the sky across a bend in the

river suddenly disappears to reappear an instant afterwards. Everyone stares and either exclaims that the steamer is coming, or starts to argue with a companion who has not detected the glow from the searchlight, until a general agreement is established and we move off to buy our tickets from the babu. The tedium of the next two hours is somewhat relieved by watching the cautious progress of the steamer up the deep water channel. As it approaches the searchlight wanders uneasily backwards and forwards across the river and along the bank, occasionally pausing to stare inquisitively at the steamer station on which for a few seconds it throws a chequered pattern of high lights and unnaturally black shadows, and then turns away to leave us all enshrouded in a deeper gloom. Finally, the beat of the engines ceases as the great sternwheeler, brilliant as a liner with electric light from stem to stern, moves up opposite the station and drops an anchor with a long drawn out clatter of heavy chain. Though she draws less than six feet of water the awning of the third deck in front of the big funnels is thirty feet above the river. The lowest deck almost flush with the water is piled high with sacks and bales behind a trellis of stout bamboo up to the beams of the second deck which carries nearly all the passengers. Half of them are fast asleep, while the remainder either support a vigorous Hindustani chorus or listen to a fat man wailing a doleful Bengali song to the sound of a harmonium. The captain of this big vessel is a bearded Mohammedan serang from Chittagong who navigates it as a rule from the depths of an easy chair on the top deck which he shares, with the man at the wheel and infrequent first-class passengers. At present, a tall white figure vaguely discernible in the gloom, he is leaning over the rail by the green starboard light shouting orders to his crew and conversing intermittently with the babu on the bank below. Large hawsers are secured ashore and wound up on board by steam capstans which

rumble noisily to the shriek of escaping steam and an occasional staccato rattle from the anchor chain running over the bows, until the steamer gently touches the bank, when the searchlight is shut off, the myriads of flies surrounding it disperse, and comparative quiet ensues.

Such of the intending passengers as have been able to buy their tickets endeavour to get on board even before the gangway planks are secured, and a considerable number manage to force their way over before any passengers can get off. The more eager having been thus disposed of, the remainder wait while people from the ship crowd down the gangway to the bank. There are babus with bundles under their arms and coolies with bundles on their heads, women and children following in the wake of many. Most of them scramble up the bank and disappear in the darkness beyond, but several families sit down on the ground by the steamer in little rings to eat and drink amidst the bustle and hurry, while stalwart pariah dogs, taking up a position behind them, wait complacently for the scraps which will be left. A man at the head of a string of coolies stops at the foot of the gangway to hand his tickets to the babus. "Seven of us," he says, and the babu counts "One, two, three, four, five, six, seven. Right. Get off!" The seventh man instantly responds "Hurry up!" from the end of the line and they move off and up the bank in single file.

So soon as passengers cease to jostle and push their way up and down, a gang of noisy coolies commences to move a vast number of tins of kerosine oil from the steamer to the bank, each man returning after a trip ashore with a heavy bale which he drops with a thump upon the iron deck. Twenty minutes later as they are finishing, the serang emerges from his cabin followed by the wheelman, turns on the searchlight, blows the whistle and rings up his engines. Then the long gangway planks are laboriously dragged inboard,

the steamer babu clutching a bundle of papers hastily retires down the last plank and with a prodigious noise and clatter the capstan hauls the steamer out into the river up to the anchor. Suddenly the deafening clamour subsides and only the soft beat of the engines and the murmur of the water is heard as the steamer moves out into the dark river leaving the babu alone on the ghat to lock up his office and go to bed.

The sole occupant of the little saloon on the top deck is a dingy looking man reading a dirty newspaper. He continues to smoke a pipe without apology while I have my dinner and, eager for conversation with a fellow-countryman after a day by himself, soon explains that he is on his way to overhaul the engines of a small factory up the river. It would seem from his discursive remarks that he has followed the sea for many years as an engineer on tramp steamers, retiring from this to become expert in the estimation of the density of smoke coming from factory chimneys. Undoubtedly his long connection with the sooty side of modern life has left its mark upon both his person and his apparel. Careful at this late hour to wear a cap on his head, he avoids the reproach of a dirty collar by wearing nothing round his grimy neck while his sallow face, dirty hands, and greasy tweed suit speak loudly of undisturbed and long standing contact with coal, dust and oil. For a long time he describes technical intricacies of the various branches of his profession, and relates thrilling stories of the iniquities of Indian firemen and the use of heavy spanners by way of correction and self-protection. It is nearly midnight when we retire from the saloon to our cabins, he presumably to unwashed slumber, and I to lie in bed awake with only a thin partition between my head and the wheelman on the deck outside.

With the steamer in deep water and only the distant pulse of the engine audible one can hardly travel by night

in greater comfort, but when the water shallows and the sharp ring of a bell calls the leadsman to his post in the bows I find that the anticipation of impact with a treacherous sandbank keeps me wide awake for a long while.

For some time from far below the leadsman sings out "*Tin varm mila nahin*" meaning that he cannot touch bottom with his three fathom line, and with this comfortable and oft repeated assurance one may well fall asleep, but as the steamer draws near the shoal the song changes to "*Sare do varm*" (two and a half fathom) and the ear strains involuntarily to hear after a short pause "*Do varm mila nahin.*" That means a little over two fathom ; are we going over a bar or are we running aground ? Then comes a leisurely "*Sare ek varm*" from below and in one breath the serang in the bows on the deck outside loudly abuses the leadsman for not sounding more frequently, shouts an order to the man at the wheel and demands that the river pilot, an aged boatman who got on board at Bora, shall tell him where there is deep water. Before that functionary has time to reply the leadsman sings out sharply "*Ek varm ek bilas*"—one and a quarter fathom ; we shall certainly bump in a few seconds—the serang clamours loudly for guidance, rings off his engines and alters his course just as the steamer takes the ground gently but firmly and swings round a little in the river with much creaking and groaning of the tall superstructure.

There is a brief silence for the engines are still and the leadsman is awaiting further orders. Then follows a noisy argument as to what shall be done, the serang off duty emerges from his cabin and about half the crew climb up the stairs to discuss matters and abuse the unfortunate man at the wheel for not keeping a proper course. The serang and the pilot twist the searchlight about and survey their surroundings. In front a few dreary looking bamboo crosses and posts standing out of black water to show the position of shallows, and in the distance

are intricate, looking fences built out from the sandbanks to promote the deposit of silt away from the deep water channel. On either hand are great stretches of barren sand white as snow in the glare of the light; there are no trees or houses within sight, only the desolate sandbanks of the wide river bed. By the time the new course has been decided upon we have drifted back on the stream into deep water and start off again cautiously through the maze of crosses and posts.

One awakes next morning with the bright sunshine streaming into the roomy cabin to lie contemplating leisurely uprising for breakfast and listening to the crew washing the deck. From our lofty position we look over the steep river bank close alongside on to wide treeless stretches of plough with an occasional village of frail looking thatches. This is evidently a recent formation, for on the opposite side close behind a wide expanse of sand the old river bank is fringed with lofty bamboos and the mud walls of substantial looking houses peep out between the branches of ancient trees. Here are gardens of plantains, placid tanks and patches of jungle, little roads overshadowed by the trees and grateful shade from the midday heat. The chur village on the other side is a treeless unsheltered habitat watered from little holes scooped in the white sand, traversed by soft sandy tracks and swept by whirling clouds of dust whenever the wind becomes a trifle boisterous. In the hot weather the dazzling sand soon becomes too hot for unshod feet, and the nomadic uncouth villagers retire to their comfortless houses for a little protection from the stifling heat in which they are engulfed. The sudden cyclone buffets them with a savage fury unknown to the sheltered villages of the mainland, and in the rains they know not from day to day whether or not the river will tear the land from their grasps. As some sort of compensation for these hardships they probably

enjoy complete immunity from the malaria which ravages the picturesque villages opposite.

For several hours we pass quietly and steadily up the broad reaches of the river each bend of which reveals a new succession of trees, villages and fields, until just as the day is getting hot we arrive opposite the bamboo but outside a big village which marks our destination. The siren booms and roars as we approach but here no locomotives shriek in response and no cosmopolitan crowd awaits our arrival. Only the empty echo replies, and a withered old woman in a dingy white sari with a basket of plantains to sell descends the banks and advances to the edge of the water. After we have tied up, she sits beside the steamer firmly resisting the persistent efforts of several of the crew to get her to relax her price. Finally after handling most of the fruit they each spend a few pice with her and make the best of their bargain by picking out the biggest of the plantains. Then they scramble overboard in scanty loin cloths to bathe before the steamer departs.

I say good-bye to my fellow-passenger who looks no cleaner by daylight, and leaving the servants to bring on my things set out over the dusty road to walk to Nurpur two miles away. By the time I have passed through the village the steamer is sturdily pushing its way upstream along the opposite bank, shortly to disappear round the bend leaving only a thin cloud of smoke in the still air above the Nurpur trees.

THOMAS CLOUGH.

GREAT COMPOSERS AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS AND FOLK-SONGS.

BY CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS.

THE frequent and fervent singing of "God Save the King" since this terrible war began reminds one how few of the world's most popular political and national songs were written by great composers. The Austrian National anthem—composed by Haydn—is almost the only exception. And it is the more interesting at the present time because it was composed in 1797 when France and Austria were, as now, at war. Twelve years later the first bomb which the French fired into Vienna fell near to the house where good old Papa Haydn lay sick unto death, and it greatly disturbed him, though as usual he thought more of others than of himself and told those about him not to be alarmed, no harm would come to them while he was nigh. One is glad that personal regard rose superior to racial animosity: a French officer after the Gallican army had entered the city, called on Haydn and sang "In Native Worth" to him with great expression. It was an example of the courtesy for which our Allies, the French, are so famous and in which their enemies are now proving themselves so barbarously deficient—to put it mildly!

Our own Henry Purcell, the greatest composer in the world during the last fifteen years of his life, is another exception. For he composed, or adapted from an older Irish tune, the music to the doggerel verses known as "Lilliburlero". Rubbish as the words are, it was by this song that Lord Wharton, who wrote them, claimed to have "sung a deluded prince out of three kingdoms." Surely the composer of the tune was in reality entitled to the lion's

share of the credit ! “Rule Britannia”, too, and “Hearts of Oak” were written by musicians of high if not the highest distinction—Dr. Arne and Dr. Boyce, respectively. The great French national song, “La Marseillaise”, was both written and composed by a military engineer and amateur violinist, Claude Rouget de Lisle ; and its German counterpart, the “Guard of the Rhine,” by a professional musician, Carl Wilhelm, otherwise almost unknown. “Yankee Doodle” is believed to have been both written and composed by a medical man, but much uncertainty surrounds its authorship.

Our own National Anthem, “God Save the King”, is the work as regards the tune of either Dr. John Bull, a famous organist born in 1563, whose tune is, however, in the minor mode ; or Henry Carey, the author of “Sally in Our Alley”, who certainly has the better claim in the present writer’s opinion, and undoubtedly wrote the words. The first performance of the two together was at a political banquet in 1740.

The music to the very fine Russian National Anthem and the much inferior, but in its own country, immensely popular Belgian National Anthem, La Brabanconne, were both composed about the same time, 1830. (Previously the Russians had used the tune of our own National Anthem, as did the Danes and Germans till quite recently.) And both Russian and Belgian airs were composed by men who, though fully qualified technically and the composers of operas, were far from being masters of the first rank. They were Major-General Alexis von Lvoff, conductor of the Russian Court Choir, and Francois van Campenhout, respectively. The latter was born in Brussels, 5th February 1779, began his career in the orchestra at the theatre de la Monnaie, was a tenor singer of wide reputation, and in addition to operas composed songs, choruses, and church music. The quaint tune of the Japanese National Hymn, not at all unlike

a Gregorian in style, is centuries old, but nothing more about it appears to be known. And the airs to which the national anthems of Italy, Greece, and Servia are sung are evidently of that obscure origin veiled under the name "traditional".

Turning from national anthems to folk-music, the absence of the great composer is still more marked. But in fairness it must be added that so is the absence of the mediocre composer, and of the wholly untutored genius. For the origin of most of these airs is wholly unknown. Indeed some people seem to lose sight of the fact that they must have been the work of any individual mind. Possibly, therefore, they were written by men who were the great composers of the far off days in which they were written. This is the more likely, inasmuch as for many centuries the secular musician, unlike his cloistered brother, could not write what he composed. The songs of the four countries forming the United Kingdom illustrate this as well perhaps as any such national collection. Taking 50 of the most popular English songs, only 15 can be assigned to a particular composer, the chief names being Morley, Purcell, Arne, Boyce, Hook, and Dibdin, all leading English composers of their day. Out of the same number of Irish tunes given in the National Song Book not one has the composer's name attached to it ; of 35 Welsh airs the source is not even alluded to which tells its own tale ; and James Barr, composer of the tune to Tannahills' "Thou bonnie Wood of Craigielea" is the only composer mentioned in a list of 33 Scottish songs. He 'was born at Tarbolton, Ayrshire, in 1781, and divided a long life between music-teaching in Glasgow and farming in Canada. Much then, as humanity owes to the known composer, it owes much more, in respect of folk-music, to the unknown.

CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS.

WAS SHAKESPEARE A POET?

BY WILLIAM DOUGLAS.

IT is notoriously difficult to discover the man Shakespeare in his work. But there are one or two views which he states so frequently, so emphatically, and with such independence of merely dramatic considerations, that we seem to be justified in regarding them as his own profound convictions. His admiration for the man of action is an example. Is his attitude to poets also an example?

Why, then, we shall have a stirring world again. This peace is nothing, but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers. - *Coriolanus*, 4, 5, 235.

Marry, if you would put me to verses, or to dance for your sake, Kate, why you undid me : for the one, I have neither words nor measure, and for the other, I have no strength in measure, yet a reasonable measure in strength. . . . But before God, Kate, I cannot look greenly nor gasp out my eloquence, nor I have no cunning in protestation ; only downright oaths, which I never use till urged, nor never break for urging. . . . And while thou livest, dear Kate, take a fellow of plain and uncoined constancy, for he perforce must do thee right, because he hath not the gift to woo in other places ; for these fellows of infinite tongue, that can rime themselves into ladies' favours, they do always reason themselves out again. What ! a speaker is but a prater ; a rime is but a ballad.

Hen. V, 5, 2, 167.

GLENDOWER.

I can speak English, lord, as well as you,
For I was train'd up in the English court ;
Where, being but young, I framed to the harp
Many an English ditty lovely well
And gave the tongue a helpful ornament ;
A virtue that was never seen in you.

HOTSPUR :

Marry, and I'm glad of it with all my heart.
I had rather be a kitten, and cry mew
Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers :
I had rather hear a brazen canstick turn'd,
Or a dry wheel grate on an axle-tree ;
And that would set my teeth nothing on edge,
Nothing so much as mincing poetry :
'Tis like the forced gait of a shuffling nag.

1 *Hen. IV*, 3, 1, 134

CINNA :

I am Cinna the poet, I am Cinna the poet.

FOURTH CITIZEN :

Tear him for his bad verses, tear him for his bad verses.

Julius Cæsar, 3, 3, 33.

More relevant perhaps than any of these passages—though too long for quotation here—are the speeches of the poet in the opening scene of *Timon of Athens*, where Shakespeare parodies himself very effectively, and—aptest of all—Autolycus's ballads in *The Winter's Tale*. “No hearing, no feeling, but my sir's song, and admiring the nothing of it.”

The name of such passages is Legion. But induction “per enumerationem simplicem” is worse than useless. More promising is a study of the passages where Shakespeare refers to drama.

Our revels now are ended : these our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits and
Are melted into air, into thin air :
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

The Tempest, 4, 1, 148.

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more.

Macbeth, 5, 5, 24.

This wide and universal theatre
 Presents more woful pageants than the scene
 Where we play in.
 All the world's a stage,
 And all the men and women merely players :
 They have their exits and their entrances :
 And one man in his time plays many parts,
 His acts being seven ages.

As You Like It, 2, 7, 137.

I hold the world but as the world, Cratiano,
 A stage where every man must play a part,
 And mine a sad one.

The Merchant of Venice, 1, 1, 77.

For Shakespeare, drama is not a light thing but the very stuff of which life is made. At the most solemn moments, just when we expect, and actually seem to hear the voice of Shakespeare himself when his problem is the ultimate meaning of Life, he seems to turn naturally to the theatre for a simile. Men and women are "merely players"—players, nothing else. (The modern sense of "merely" probably spoils for most of us the solemnity and the meaning of the familiar line.) This is very obviously a tendency of Shakespeare's thought, whether or not one is justified in going a step farther and saying that it represents Shakespeare's philosophy of life.

This is in itself a sufficiently striking fact, and it helps here both to establish (by the remarkable contrast) and to define (for otherwise drama might be supposed to be included in "poetry") the statement that in nearly all Shakespeare's references to poets and poetry there is a disparaging tone so consistent that it seems to give some hint of Shakespeare's own attitude.

Another fact equally striking is this : Shakespeare, one of the few masters of lyrical poetry, wrote only a few dozen lyrics—only those for which he had a dramatic purpose.

Shakespeare's best songs are among the best in the world's literature. His wonderful mastery over the subtler

uses of metre is without a parallel outside Shelley. And even Shelley, the companion of the elements, never described the spirit of the sea as Shakespeare did in the magical music of

“ Full fathom five thy father lies.”

Surely it is one of the tragedies of literature that one with such a mastery in the lyrical art should have written only a few dozen lyrics, just enough to show that in the lyric nothing was impossible for him.

And all those that he wrote are quite obviously written for a dramatic purpose.

“ Where the bee sucks, there suck I ”

would hold a high place in English poetry simply as a song even if the rest of the play were lost. But as it stands in the play it owes a great part of its charm to the fact that it is just as appropriate to Ariel as

“ No more dams I’ll make for fish ”

is to Caliban or

“ The master, the swabber, the boatswain and I ”

to Stephano.

These then are the two facts which seem to raise a suggestive problem to the student of Shakespeare.

1. The man who is revered as the greatest English poet seldom, if ever, mentions poets or poetry except in jest.
2. One of the world’s greatest lyrists wrote no lyrics except those for which he had a dramatic purpose.

What is the explanation of the paradox of Shakespeare’s attitude to poetry? Is he “playing to the gallery?” Violating his own convictions simply to raise a laugh? That can hardly be, for the Elizabethans were as fond of songs as they were of plays. Indeed, the very opposite hypothesis is probably nearer the truth—that Shakespeare felt that his contemporaries were much

too fond of "poetry" and that he is criticising the attitude of the age to poetry just as (in Hamlet) he criticises the attitude of the age to drama.

The English language was, in Shakespeare's day, adolescent, self-conscious and noisy. While Shakespeare was an adolescent he, too, sighed like furnace, made woful ballads to his mistress' eyebrows, and out-euphuised Euphues. When he became a man he put away the things of adolescence and taught our language how to do so.

It is the great poet who is most conscious of the limitations of poetry. And Shakespeare was not only a great poet but a great dramatist and a great actor. What he set out to express was the joy and the sorrow of human life, and he found that the deepest joys and sorrows could be expressed better by silence than by speech, by a thrice-repeated "O" than by a peroration.

• "We ask and ask: thou smilest and art still."

And we are left to guess. Is it a hopeless guess to say that the poet—whose strength and whose weakness is his conviction that he is the centre of the Universe—was for Shakespeare, as he is for the average man, a rather pathetic figure?

WILLIAM DOUGLAS.

Rangoon.

BERGSON AND A PHILOSOPHICAL PEACE.

BY REV. JOHN MACASKILL, M. A.

ONE of the most interesting passages in Bergson's *Creative Evolution* is that in which he discusses the possibility of a philosophical eirenicon, and describes the conditions on which it might be ensured. "Intuition," he says, "if it could be prolonged beyond a few instants, would not only make the philosopher agree with his own thought, but also all philosophers with each other. Such as it is, fugitive and incomplete, it is, in each system, what is worth more than the system and survives it. The object of philosophy would be reached if this intuition could be sustained, generalized and, above all, assured of external points of reference in order not to go astray. To that end a continual coming and going is necessary between nature and mind."¹ If we could accept Bergson's view of the object of philosophy, there is much in this picture of its attainment to appeal to us and command our approval. According to Bergson philosophy finds its object in life, in that reality which flows about us as a mighty stream, and to the knowledge of which intuition deep and complete enough is the only key. And were there to be given to philosophy a moment of perfect and simultaneous intuition, its age-long conflict would be at an end. It is the necessity of dialectic that delays this consummation. For dialectic, Bergson admits, is an inevitable accompaniment of the present stage in the history of evolution.² It is by dialectic we detain the partial intuitions of Reality, which we do obtain, and are able to

¹ *Creative Evolution*, page 252.

² See page 251.

convey them to others. But the result of this breaking up of intuition, this shattering of the white light of truth on the imperfect prismatic substance of our thought is a variety and conflict of impressions. Or to put it in another way. Immediately an intuition becomes petrified in a concept, it loses much of its original force ; and, if it be only one of a chain of concepts issuing from it, with each successive link the intuitive value of the argument diminishes, until it reaches the vanishing point, and only the skeleton of a soulless dialectic remains. To quote Bergson himself. "The same effort by which ideas are connected with ideas, causes the intuition which the ideas were storing up to vanish. The philosopher is obliged to abandon intuition, once he has received from it the impetus, and to rely on himself to carry on the movement by pushing the concepts one after another. But he soon feels he has lost foothold ; he must come into touch with intuition again ; he must undo most of what he has done."

We are not prepared to accept Bergson's view of the aim of philosophic inquiry or the fundamental antinomy between dialectical and intuitive modes of thought, on which his system rests. But we are not therefore insensible to the suggestiveness of the picture which he draws of the battle of the systems, and the force of his implied criticism of our methods of philosophical controversy. Were the spirit of his reflections to be observed, there is no doubt it would lead to a moderating of intellectual aggressiveness and a speedier approximation to that universality of view which must be the aim of all earnest philosophical study. Bergson's statement that the intuition in each system "is worth more than the system and survives it" will command general assent. We shall have something to say further on as to the precise meaning Bergson attaches to the term intuition. But, if we take the statement in

³ *Op cit* , page 251.

its substance, it amounts to this, that the premises of the philosophers are of more value than the syllogisms they raise upon them. Bergson seems to make the charitable assumption that a philosopher's premises, as founding in reality, will as a rule be valid ; and, were this charity to be more widely emulated, the day of philosophic accord, of which he speaks in this passage, would be brought perceptibly nearer. We are reminded then by these observations of Bergson that there are aspects of truth in every system, intimations of reality which come direct to the author. Reality is a many-sided thing. Each one has his little arc of the circle to describe. Every thinker, if he is honest, has his finger on the pulse of life and is recording his impressions of it, impressions which have their own intrinsic value. Every philosopher has his inspirations, flashes of insight, in which a whole system is premised. The nearer we get to the sources of inspiration, the more likelihood is there of agreement ; the further we travel from an original premises the more arbitrary and artificial does our thinking become.

We must all admit that there is a certain force in the strictures which Bergson passes on the thinking process. We know how easily we become the victims of an intellectual ingenuity. Our inspirations are good, and form a legitimate starting-point for trains of reasoning. But once we bring the apparatus of the syllogism into requisition, we are apt to manipulate it for our own ends. We attempt to create out of our material a fabric, for which it does not suffice, and we delude ourselves that we are engaged in constructive thought, when we are only listening to the empty rattle of our own logic. It is here that the use of philosophical criticism is seen. The constructor of a system is not its best judge. For he is blinded by his own prepossessions which he pushes out, as Bergson would express it, to undue lengths. It is only one who is free from those prepossessions, who has no interest to serve

save those of verity and consistency of thought, who can adequately weigh the conclusions which the philosopher derives from his premises, and expose the fallacies which threaten the stability of the whole structure. There is nothing in Bergson's teaching to discourage the philosophical critic or make him feel that his occupation is gone. The cure for dialectic is more dialectic, dialectic of a true and dispassionate kind. At the same time the critic might well lay to heart what Bergson says about the intuitive element in every system. Every system has its own reflection of reality, which gives it a value altogether independent of any dialectical defects, which have crept into the presentation of it. It is the failure to recognise this that makes the antitheses between systems of thought unnecessarily severe and renders so much of our criticism shallow and trivial in its character. Let us remember that "everyone has a revelation, has an interpretation." Thinkers so different as Hegel, Herbert Spencer, and Auguste Comte have all their contribution to make to the true philosophy. Each of them provides us with a great master conception which forms the key to his whole system. With Hegel it is the self-diremption of the notion, with Spencer it is the movement in matter from the incoherent homogeneous to the coherent heterogeneous, with Comte it is the idealisation of humanity. With their mode of developing those conceptions we may not always be able to agree. Their applications may at times seem to us arbitrary, strained and unnatural. But it is sheer prejudice on our part to allow our dissatisfaction with the details of a system to blind us to its essential truth. Conceptions which can inspire such great systems as the Encyclopaedia, the Synthetic Philosophy and the *Philosophie Positive*, thereby vindicate themselves, and we are guilty of something like presumption if we deny to them any element of genuineness. Bergson then has taught us a needful lesson as to the limits of

criticism. We may quarrel as much as we please with the philosopher's inferences ; but his inspirations are to be treated with due respect.

We are quite prepared then to concede to Bergson that the intuition underlying a system is the most significant part of it, and that such intuitions form valuable material for a basis of agreement among philosophers. But the question remains to be considered, What does Bergson mean by this intuition which is to be the medium of a true and universal view of things ? Is it something entirely contrary to intellect, and is the truth, which it yields, of a purely perceptual kind, devoid alike of discrimination and co-ordination. That is the impression left by a cursory reading of *Creative Evolution*. There are two possible views of truth and upon the adoption of one or other of these will depend the trend of our philosophy, truth as the knowledge of the *real* and truth as the knowledge of the *ideal*. It is with the first of these that most of Bergson's readers will be inclined to credit him. His system, as they know it, represents reality as a sub-conscious stream from which we are only separated by the crust of conventional thought. Whenever and wherever that stream springs up to the surface, rises to full consciousness, the truth of things is revealed. And could we only be immersed in a body in that stream all unintellectual differences would disappear and we should attain to absolute unanimity of view. But what is this stream of consciousness, it will be asked, which is the source and the subject-matter of truth ? Is it sense ? or is it spirit ? or some curious amalgam of both, an experience not only without intellectual but without moral differentiation ? If intuition be a mere feeling for life, there can be no consistency in its interpretations. For life manifests itself even on the human level in very diverse forms. In some it is of a largely sensuous character, in others it is more spiritual. Are these alike to be regarded

as expressions of the truth? If truth means simply the knowledge of the real, then they have equal claims to the description. One man's intuition is as good as another's, if it be a faithful representation of his own experience.

But philosophy has familiarised us with another and higher conception of the truth, truth as the knowledge of the *ideal*. All that is real is not true, but only the real which has been rationalised, only sense which has been spiritualised, only life which has been idealised. Intuition in itself is insufficient as a guide to truth, what it gives to us is merely the material of truth, without the form. The form intellect must supply. And as a matter of fact there are passages in *Creative Evolution* where Bergson himself seems to have overcome the sharp antinomy between intellect and intuition and to treat them as complementary functions. In contrasting intuition with instinct, of which it is but a higher form, he admits that it is by the aid of intellect that intuition transcends the lower stage. "By intuition I mean instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious, capable of reflecting upon its object and of enlarging it indefinitely.⁴ Though it (intuition) thereby transcends intelligence, it is from intelligence that has come the push that has made it rise to the point it has reached. Without intelligence, it would have remained in the form of instinct, riveted to the special object of its practical interest, and turned outward by it into movements of locomotion".⁵ We could not have a franker admission than these passages contain, that truth is after all ideal in its character, that it does not consist in mere sensations of the real, but in conceptions which are formed through the agency of the intellect.

If for all practical purposes, then, intellect and intuition are linked together, why should Bergson seek to foster the impression that there is a fundamental antinomy between them? Why the continual harping on the

⁴ Op. cit., page 186.

⁵ Op. cit., page 187-8.

inferiority of the knowledge yielded by intellect, and the suggestion that only when we are able to spirit ourselves out of the intellectual world shall we be able to call truth ours. Intellect and intuition go hand in hand in the quest for truth. Bergson speaks of the intuition behind a system. But no system was ever produced from mere intuition. It is more correct to speak of the Idea behind a system, idea not in the sense of an abstract conception but of a representation of reality in which thought and feeling combine. It is only a great idea that can inspire a system. The master conceptions of the systems already cited as examples, belong obviously to the category. The idea has indeed worth and power because of a certain immediacy in it. When it loses that immediacy it tends to become abstract and mechanical. And so "a continued coming and going is necessary between nature and mind."⁴ We quite admit—and we are indebted to Bergson for his timely reminders on the point—that, unless we keep in close touch with reality, our thinking becomes attenuated and academic. But on the other hand to plunge into the profound of intuition with no guide but intuition itself is just as hopeless a proceeding. It is a return to the night in which all cows are black, and where the cows instead of lying down in harmony are more likely to get in one another's way. The supra-consciousness of which Bergson dreams⁷ is somewhat difficult to envisage, and, when we do get an inkling of it, it does not seem to help us much. The only consciousness we can speak of with any knowledge, and so which is of any consequence to us, is one in which intellect and intuition are blended together, all the inspirations of which are drenched with intelligence.

And just on that account, while philosophers might well show more respect for one another's premises because

⁴ Op. cit., page 252

⁷ Op. cit., page 275.

of the element of immediacy which attaches to them, even for these no claim of implicit acceptance can be made. For with all their immediacy they are none the less mediated from the first by the intellect and so become legitimate matters of intellectual discussion. It is only by the slow travail of the intellect operating upon all the material, which nature and life afford us, that the truth will be finally brought to view. "If intuition could be prolonged beyond a few instants"—Is this a half-expressed sigh for a short and easy way to philosophic peace? There is none. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth till now with truth which has not yet come to the birth, and there will be no deliverance till its pangs are complete. The drama of evolution, which Bergson himself so powerfully describes in his third chapter, is the one path to certainty. There are no short cuts to unanimity among the philosophers. But a greater measure of moral ingenuousness and of intellectual sincerity would do something to hasten the wished-for consummation.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

BRAHMADARSANAM OR INTUITION OF THE ABSOLUTE, BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY.—By Sri Ananda Acharya. (Macmillan and Co., London. 4s. 6d. net.)

This book contains six lectures given in Christiania with the object of presenting Hindu ways of looking at the eternal verities of life to the minds of a Norwegian public who were altogether ignorant of them. It does not therefore profess to be a systematic treatise but aims rather at being a kind of popular introduction to Indian philosophy. As such it is only partially successful, for it leaves the reader with a somewhat confused impression of a number of unconnected systems of thought based on different abstract and *a priori* conceptions.

We feel that this is largely due to the fact that the author has neglected to show the historical relation of the different systems of thought which he sketches. We may pardon him for refusing to introduce protracted discussions of dates into a series of popular lectures, but an outline of the philosophy of a people can hardly hope to be understood if the different systems are simply set down side by side with nothing to show how far one was dependent on the other for its terms and its problems. It is not mere dates that are most important but rather that determination of the historical relations between different philosophies which is impossible without consideration of dates. The writer, however, neglects the discussion of these relations almost more completely than that of dates, for he does touch the latter question and thereby enables us to judge of the quality of his historical opinions in such a statement as this "It is

not known when he (Gotama) lived, but there is no doubt that he flourished thousands of years before Gautama, the Buddha ; " or in the argument given in a note which fixes Kapila's date at c.3000 B. C. on the ground that Krishna is the author of the Gita and that the Gita refers to Kapila.

Considered, however, as an account of particular systems of thought, the book has many good qualities. The points of view of the greatest thinkers of India are placed before the reader briefly and on the whole clearly. The second chapter gives an illuminating account of the Samkhya Philosophy and the fifth and sixth chapters dealing with Sankara's Monism give an excellent introduction to this system and admirably explain its characteristic doctrines of Avidya, Maya and Turiya. Sketches are also given of the views of Ramanuja, Gotama, Patanjali and others, and a not unsuccessful attempt is made to state these doctrines in such a way as to be easily intelligible to minds to which the subject is new.

The author writes with enthusiasm for his subject, but it is an enthusiasm which he allows sometimes to carry him too far. We are told without any authority being quoted or reason given that "there is reason to believe that Aristotle derived his idea of God as the Unmoved Mover of the Universe from Gotama," and, again without any evidence being offered, we are told that the Visistadvaita or qualified monism of India "was popularised in Europe by Saint Augustine, Jacob Boehme and Ruysbroeck." Caste is idealised; the Vedas are represented as though they contained nothing else than a pure monotheism, the revival of Hinduism is ascribed to the persecution of the Hindus by Mohammedans. And the familiar, but not the less arrogant, statement appears once more that "none but the Yogis of India understand the Indian darsanas."

Such statements scarcely prejudice one in favour of the author's accuracy or judgment, and it must also be said that in defending some of the views which he describes he makes use of very weak or unsound arguments. He

has for example a short and simple way of deciding the question of immortality. "There cannot be any question of survival, because the soul is everlasting. . . . The expression 'present moment' has no sense unless linked up with a 'past moment' and a 'future moment.' The soul which is aware of the flux of time at once coexists with and transcends time." And to interpret Hegel as one "who conceived of a pure Being transcendently unrelated to Becoming" does not argue a very complete understanding of one for whom pure Being was equivalent to nothing.

The author has clearly got gifts of expression and exposition which, added to his wide knowledge of the thought of India, fit him for further authorship. He confesses that in giving these lectures he was unfamiliar with the points of view of his Western audience, and we may hope that wider knowledge of these will increase the usefulness of his next work.

G. E.

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.—Vol. V.

April to October 1748, pp. XIX. and 475.

The present volume of Ranga Pillai's diary of nearly 500 pages covers only seven months' history of Dupleix's administration. But the period, though narrow, is one of the landmarks in the history of 18th century India. The deaths of the Emperor Muhammad Shâh and of Nizam-ul-mulk ushered in a new period in the diplomatic history of Northern and the Southern India respectively. Then the memorable treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in the same year, while giving a new turn to European politics and a new interpretation to the conflict between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa over the ultimate destiny of Prussia and Austria, exerted a profound influence upon the Anglo-French duel for the sovereignty of India. As a matter of course the diarist is found to be almost overwhelmed with facts and details. And though we cannot

always appreciate his power of selection, of sifting the necessary from the unnecessary, we are struck by the thoroughness and the hunger for details and concrete facts so rare in oriental writers. At the same time the angle of vision and the originality of expression are thoroughly oriental. In fact the prolixity of details characteristic of an occidental diarist, combined with the peculiarly oriental flavour in the narration, makes the diary a remarkable production of 18th century India. What lends an additional value to the writings of Ranga Pillai is the fact that, in spite of all his limitations as "a prejudiced witness and a vanquished native," his diary was practically the only connected chronicle of the period, as is frankly admitted by the editor. "It is unfortunate that almost all the official documents relating to the administration of Dupleix have disappeared."

The episode of the desecration of the Siva temple of Pondicherry at the instigation of Madame Dupleix and the Jesuit missionaries, at the time of the bombardment of Pondicherry by the English, is highly characteristic of the Tamil diarist. The following extract would illustrate the method of Ranga Pillai : —

"If the Tamils had only had some among them as brave in word if not in deed as these Muhammadans, none would have thought of touching the temple.

"Abdul Rahaman having thus obtained leave that the Mosque should not be touched sent away his men and came to my nut godown. He said 'The Governor was wrong to have recalled his troops from Ariyan Kuppam when the enemy' (English) came to attack Pondicherry, and he is disquieting men by interfering with religion. While the troubles last, he should please all, so as to achieve success. But instead of this, he listens to his wife, and seizes men as spies, imprisons them and make them carry earth ; so that the people have begun to wish that Pondicherry may fall into the hands of the English. The town is full of Christians and justice cannot be had. Even those who have paid their debts are imprisoned and by Madame's power

required to pay more. Every house is being plundered by men who say that they are Madame's peons. As though these were not enough, he has ordered the Hindu temple to be destroyed. He should not make the people tremble. What times these are! God brings these troubles on the town in anger at Madame's injustice; a town is sure to be ruined when it is governed by a woman who dominates her husband. The Councillors do nothing. Why do not they ask whether he is managing either the company's affairs or his own, and whether the company appointed him or Madame Governor . . . Is this Government?"

K. D. N.

AN EPITOME OF JAINISM.—By Puran Chand Nahar and Krishna Chandra Ghosh. (Gulab Kumari Library.)

This volume of something over 700 pages is well illustrated and sumptuously bound. It gives a useful analysis of the main tenets of Jainism and expounds its philosophical presuppositions. There are also interesting concluding chapters upon the history of the Jain Church, upon Jain Architecture and Jain Literature. In many places, however, we are left merely with an impression of a catalogue of doctrines and of facts, and there is little attempt at unity of treatment. For the purposes of proof-reading, also, the author was "born tired." Misprints jostle each other on the pages. The language also could stand a considerable amount of revision. When it attempts to be idiomatic it is very frequently wrong. A desire for vigour of style is sometimes a temptation to extravagance of language, as when we are told that certain opponents have been "baffled in their attempts and become the butt end of all ridicule before the whispering galleries of the Jain philosophers and omniscient beings." Again, the description of the comfortable people of the world as those who "waddle in wealth and prosperity" is picturesque, but it should not be used twice in the same part of the book.

The book is written by a devoted Jaina from an inside point of view. Jainism is the compendium of all wisdom, and whenever there is controversy truth must lie with Jainism. This attitude no doubt secures for us a sympathetic and intimate exposition, but it is rather apt to lead to weakness of argument. Frequently, after a discussion of the failure of other philosophies to solve certain problems, we are given simply an assertion of the Jain doctrine of the matter and left with it, the author being apparently blissfully unconscious that much the same difficulties arise in connection with his orthodox relation as may have been left unsolved by other systems. This is especially noticeable in regard to the author's treatment of Karma, although at the same time, however, many interesting discussions, notably on the relation of Weissmannism to this doctrine, are included under this heading.

The attitude of supreme satisfaction with one's own point of view leads also to unfairness towards critics who represent other points of view. The description of the struggle in the West between philosophy and religion would hardly be recognised by any one familiar with the main currents of modern religious thought ; if our author would study modern conditions before describing them, he would find that the West is not the home of obscurantism, and philosophy is not "the sworn enemy of belief." One who thinks that "Christianity trembles even now to hear the names of Hume, Mill, Comte, Kant, Fichte or Hegel" can have but little acquaintance with that religion. A recent writer on Jainism (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson) comes in for specially severe censure because of her suggestion that Jainism is "ceremonial rather than moral." In reply we are treated to a long disquisition upon the origin of religious observances (of which we fancy Mrs. Stevenson already knew something) and the entirely gratuitous assumption is made that all who now participate in rites and ceremonies have a full understanding of their meaning and complete sympathy with the spirit

of their founders and on the other hand that all who object to so much reliance upon ceremonial are people of an utterly irreligious spirit. Such instances of unfair argumentation mar what would otherwise be a useful book and prevent our giving the whole-hearted approval which the industry and learning of the author would otherwise merit.

"CHRISTINE."—By Alice Cholmondeley. (Macmillan's "Empire Library.")

There has been a good deal of discussion as to who Alice Cholmondeley is, but whether the name conceals the identity of a more famous novelist or not, there can be no doubt about the quality of work which has been produced. The book is made up of a series of letters, said to have been written to her brother by a young English girl who had gone to Berlin to study music under a great teacher. They are delightful letters, full of vividness and freshness and sheer delight in life. Some might say they were occasionally a little sentimental, but there is for the most part an entire absence of artificiality, and the affection of the writer for her brother seems as spontaneous as it is beautifully expressed.

The interest of the book lies in the date of the letters and the pathos of their ending. The first is dated 28th May 1914 and the last 6th August of the same year. Two days later the author was dead, as a consequence of the harsh treatment she received during her attempted flight from Germany to Switzerland. "The war killed Christine, just as surely as if she had been a soldier in the trenches."

Christine began by giving the Germans every chance. She went to Berlin full of enthusiasm, but almost from the first she was aware of a subtle antagonism and dislike. And at the boarding-house table the guests seemed to shout their criticisms at her. Christine explained it by saying that Germany was in love with England and

was annoyed because so little notice was taken of the fact. The total result of the criticism was to show that Germany was a little white lamb among the nations who were like wolves ready to devour her, England being the worst wolf. Christine is continually in revolt against the drilling of both body and mind which is characteristic of the Germans. The relief is in friendship with Kloster, her violin master, and with a young Uhlan officer. The latter's friendship rapidly develops into love, and the descriptions of the beautiful days which they spend with friends in the country just before the 4th of August form a striking contrast to what follows. Christine comes back to a Berlin full of crowds and marching troops and open hostility. "Those men in the new grey uniforms tramping day and night are symbols each one of them of departing happiness, of a closed chapter, of the end of something which can never be again." There is a vivid description of the crowds in the Schlossplatz, delirious with war fever and shouting themselves hoarse with enthusiasm. Some of them are blissfully unconscious how ridiculous they appear, especially the "spectacled professor with a golden chain across his black waistcoated and impressive front, just roaring incoherently, just opening his mouth and hurling any sort of noise out of it until the veins on his neck and forehead looked as though they would burst." But the soul of Christine as she looks on at the swaying crowds is moved not to laughter so much as to a deep feeling of pity for the cheated people. "They'll be told, and they'll read it in the newspapers, that now they're great. But not a single happiness *really* will be added to the private life of a single citizen belonging to the vast class that pays the bill. For the rest of their lives this generation will be poorer and sadder, that's all. Nobody will give them back the money they have sacrificed or the ruined businesses and nobody can give them back their dead sons."

Christine has to leave Berlin without delay, and after a story of an uncomfortable journey across Germany

and a series of petty and unnecessary persecutions, the letters end abruptly, with a naturalness which is in keeping with the character of the whole book. Through the brutality of a Prussian Officer, Christine has been kept standing in the sun for hours, dripping with perspiration. At the end of her sad letter written on the same day she complains of the chilly air of the evening. There is nothing more except the notice in the preface that the writer "died at an hospital in Stuttgart on the morning of 8th August 1914 of acute double pneumonia."

W. S. U.

THE CYCLE OF SPRING.—By Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. (Macmillan and Co.)

The main idea of this symbolical play is the transformation of the spirit of spring into a philosophy of life. It is a play within a play. The occasion is the discovery of the king that there are two grey hairs behind his ear. This sets him thinking about the flight of time, the grim joke that fortune is playing with him. He gives up attention to the practical affairs of the kingdom and sends for his pundit, who advocates renunciation, but at the same time manages to annex for himself, at the king's expense, a considerable portion of this world's goods. Then the poet comes along and is able to change the king's mood, pouring scorn upon dry-as-dust morality, upon subtle weaving of logical systems. The true philosophy is to cease groping in "the mazes of the mind" and "flow with the flood of things from the mountain to the sea." According to the poet "what a poet writes is not meant to have any sense." The effect of poetry lies in its music by which it attunes the heart to the interpretation of the never-resting movement of nature and the rush of human affairs. This thought is further expressed in the inner play, which is a masque of spring, of birds and flowers and trees. The representatives of eternal youth are out to capture the "Old Man," the symbol of winter and age. He must be shown clearly that he has no right to exist. The climax is the

triumph of this sentiment even in the hearts of the pundits and the moralists—

“ Come and rejoice
for April is awake
Fling yourselves into the flood of being
bursting the bondage of the past ”

Bergson would rejoice in such a play and many lesser people will find pleasure in it.

STRAY BIRDS.—By Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore.
(Macmillan and Co.)

The “stray birds” are stray thoughts, and they come from many directions. Some of them are beautiful, and some of them are quite ordinary ; one or two only are unpleasing. We do not know if these aphorisms appeared in poetic form in the original, and the translation does not directly suggest this. But nevertheless there is a distinct beauty about these sayings, of the aphoristic or epigrammatic order rather than the poetical. Many of them would have formed excellent themes for a volume of essays and we already know how fine is the work of this nature which Sir Rabindra Nath can do. It is impossible to make a selection from these thoughts without quoting a considerable part of the book. There are some which will bear reading over and over and which we do not wish to let go from our memories. Characteristic doctrines of the mystic re-appear—“The small truth has words that are clear ; the great truth has great silence.” A too tolerant attitude to error is revealed in the saying that “the stream of truth flows through its channel of mistakes” and in the warning that “if you shut your door to all errors, truth will be shut out”, but the attitude is consoling. A certain highly placed Hohenzollern might be invited to consider the thought that “God is ashamed when the prosperous boasts of his special favour”, and perhaps before very long the logic of events will convince him that “God grows weary of great kingdoms, but never of little flowers”. We wonder if there is a

touch of personal disallusionment in the poem which is placed near the end of the book, "I have scaled the peak and found no shelter in fame's bleak and barren heights. Lead me, my guide, before the light fades, into the valley of quiet where life's harvest mellows into golden wisdom."

THE YOUNG LOVERS.—By H. C. Bailey. (Methuen and Co. 5s.)

This book shines in a reflected glory. It would be more or less uninteresting were it not for the comparison it suggests between Britain's part in the continental wars of a hundred years ago and the share she is taking to-day. The comparison is full of contrasts, and one wonders whether Wellington's little Peninsular army would ever have been noticed amongst the vast numbers to-day and what would have happened in France if the organisation had been as sketchy as it evidently was a hundred years ago. There are good descriptions of the marches and counter-marches in Portugal and Spain and the glimpses of Wellington—who does not seem to have been a lovable character—are vivid and convincing. There are some clever conversations but they are introduced without much rhyme or reason. The plot is of the slightest. Two cousins fall in love with the same lady. The first wins her and then loses her ; the second then has his chance, and the first tries to console himself with a Spanish lady, whose family evidently object to the match and call in the assistance of a French officer to kidnap the lady. It is an interesting international complication—and that is all.

TRUE TALES OF INDIAN LIFE.—By Dwijendra Nath Neogi, B.A. (Macmillan and Co. Rs. 2 net.)

These tales are described as true, and, if it were not for this assertion and for the plain matter-of-fact way in which they are told, one might almost have been tempted to say

that they were too good to be true. There have rarely been so many virtuous people gathered together within the pages of a book, and rarely have virtues found such frequent illustration. We do not mean for a moment to suggest that the incidents did not take place, but it would seem that they have been selected with excessive care. The result is not a transcript from life, but a series of subtitles to copy-book maxims. We have to admit that in actual life there is a little more of evil mixed with the good than this book might suggest, but this does not diminish our admiration for the self-sacrifice, courage and the courtesy which are often so beautifully indicated in its pages.

SUMMER.—By Edith Wharton. (Macmillan's Empire Library.)

This book gives a rather sombre picture of a small New England village where life moves drearily enough but where there are also materials for tragedy and heroism. The relentless analysis of motives and situations reminds one occasionally of Thomas Hardy. The story is an old one, of a girl who loses everything and of a man who does nothing to lessen the misery into which she is plunged. A great part of the book is dull, and in places it is needlessly sordid, but towards the end it attains the dignity of tragedy. At the very close the darkness of the whole picture is relieved by an act of devotion, coming from a man who appears at first gross and selfish, but finally proves himself capable of the utmost generosity and self-sacrifice.

DRONES.—By William Caine. (Methuen and Co.)

A rather sharp line of distinction runs through this book. We discover long before we reach the end of it that all the bad people are artists and all the good people are not artists. A prosaic rope-maker slaves at his business for years in order that he may educate his brother as an artist, and all the thanks he gets is that his brother, having become

famous in an empty way, disowns him in presence of his wealthy friends, and pretends that he has had to struggle to fame against steady opposition on the part of his family. A sister sacrifices herself for an artistic brother, and her devotion is taken very much for granted by this brother—an utterly heartless, selfish and stupid cad. The devotees find out just in time that the feet of their idols are made of clay. At the beginning of the story the heroine, whose goodness is delightfully fresh and unconventional, is engaged to the brother of the rope-maker. At the end of the story she is engaged to the rope-maker himself, who turns out to be the truest artist of all, because he is an artist in morality, whereas his brother is revealed as a useless drone and parasite. And the girl who discovers his worth declares that she is done for ever with art and artists, but she recovers her balance sufficiently to pass the final and less sweeping verdict,—“All I am sure about is, that here are two artists who are inferior to one trader. Yet it is not art that is to blame. It’s the poor mean things it enters into. It’s too big for them, and it just shatters their little morals for them. It’s a bit too tremendous for our little human institutions, like honesty and gratitude, unless they happen to be pretty solidly rooted”.

PERIODICALS.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS.—
Vol. II, Part I. January 1918.

The Indian Journal of Economics has now published its fifth number after a lapse of time which made some think it must have died. This Journal, issued under the auspices of the University of Allahabad, can hardly with fairness regard itself as that which its title would suggest, especially when it has so excellent a contemporary as that edited by Professors Hamilton and Coyajee—the Bengal Economic Journal. In view of the fact that these periodicals,

confessedly, have difficulty in appearing at the stated times, and in view of the further fact that both make, in a sense, only a limited appeal, might an amalgamation not be suggested? There is room for one good Economic Journal which might link up the Economic Departments of the different Universities and Colleges. No University is yet strong enough to support such a Journal on its own research. Now that the leading Economists have sat in joint conference it seems only reasonable to expect that the starting of such an enterprise should be nearer. It would be an excellent thing if the Economic Conference, which met for the first time in Calcutta, this year, in January, could make the creation and support of such a Journal its special concern.

This suggestion is no disparagement of the material in the Journal before us. Chief place in it is given to a most interesting article by the Editor on the Art of Economic Development, the first of a series, the remaining parts of which will appear in later numbers of the Journal. Professor Scott of Glasgow was fond of pointing one to the fact—which he again emphasises in his recent book, “Economic Problems of Peace after War”—that production is not simply a process—it is a problem—“namely, how to unite in any act of production the various factors (human and inanimate) with the least resistance.” Such a suggestion gives us the point of view of Professor Jévon’s article. Professor Gilbert Slater writes with regard to the methods he has evolved for the study of rural economic conditions in South India. He and the Editor have notes on Higher Economic Courses in Madras and Allahabad Universities, respectively. Mr. Barker writes on the relation between interest and discount, and Professor Geddes contributes a fantastic medley of fooling and good sense, entitled “The University Militant.”

It is perhaps worth pointing out that, although no contributor to this Indian Journal is an Indian, four of the six books relating to India which are reviewed in this number are by Indian authors.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January 1918.

This number is full of most interesting matter, and the range of interest is wide. In the first article Mr. Frederick Pollock discusses the most desirable form of Imperial control. He takes it for granted that the present—or, at least, pre-war—control—by a Cabinet responsible only to a British electorate cannot continue, but he has no very definite proposals to put forward regarding a substitute. The Dean of St. Paul's discusses the "Indictment against Christianity" which has arisen out of the war, and makes the oft-repeated statement that it is constitutional religion which has failed, and not the gospel of Christ. If this real gospel were accepted it would destroy not only militarism but also its analogue in civil life,—the desire to exploit others for gain. It will introduce a new standard of values and compel attention to the doctrine of "human costs," *i.e.*, the relation of the energy and interest of the worker to the work which he has to do. This last point is, *mutatis mutandis*, the subject of a well-informed article on "Efficiency" by Robinson Smith. The writer gives some remarkable results obtained in America by a scientific study of the conditions under which the greatest amount could be done. It was found that by properly arranged intervals of rest the output in certain occupations could be increased by about 300%. In New York the wage of compositors is £1 per day of eight hours and in London it is 8s. per day of nine hours or over, the difference of cost of living being only 50 /_s. Facts like these speak for themselves, and the consideration of them would have practical effect were it not for the slowness with which methods propounded in America are "adopted in Europe." One of the most brilliant articles in this number is that by Professor J. W. Scott on the "New Realism." He points out the defects in idealism which have led to the popularity of the realistic movement. Idealism assumes too easily that because we can experience nothing not experience, therefore there is nothing not experience. Idealism must also accept more readily the fact that, to begin with at least,

we find ourselves in presence of a plurality, and realism must admit that it is possible that this plurality may be systematised. Amongst other valuable and appropriate articles are Mr. G. Trevelyan's discussion of British diplomacy during the last one hundred years; Sir W. M. Ramsay's descriptive account of the peasants of Anatolia, and "Vigilant's" rather disturbing revelations as to the relations between Sinn Fein and Germany.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January 1918.

The first article, "Democracy and the Churches," by Principal W. T. Davison, shows how the real issue at stake in the war has become that of making the world safe for democracy, and discusses the nature of a true democracy. It argues further that Christianity alone can provide the true basis for democracy in the equality of men as in the sight of God and the infinite value of the individual soul, and points out the special duties which are laid upon the Christian Churches if they are to give to the democratic spirit its true foundation. St. Nihal Singh writes on "Indian Reconstruction" and favours the delimitation of the governance of India into two separate spheres, the Imperial to be controlled by the British in consultation with Indians, and domestic affairs, to be administered by Indians. The article is a fair statement of the problem but contains at least one questionable sentence to the effect that the European merchants are constantly clamouring for more privileges. A most interesting article on "The Eastern Question," based on a recent book on that subject by J. A. R. Marriott, is contributed by J. Agar Beet. It supports the assertion that the present war is the "outcome of a German conviction that the free development of the Balkan races would be a death-blow to the ambitions of Central Europe in the Near East" and that it was in order to keep open the road to the East that Germany plunged Europe into war. A sketch of Turkish history justifies the view that Britain's Turkish policy has

been wrong in the past and that the pledge of the Allied Governments to turn the Ottoman Empire out of Europe must be kept. Amongst the Notes and Discussions is one written by Cathleine Singh which deserves to be widely read. It gathers together the contributions made by the small units of the Empire to the carrying on of the war, and tells of places like the islands of Nino and Johor and of African chiefs whose names are equally little known. The loyalty of some of these "babes of the imperial family" almost outshines even that of the great self-governing colonies and of India. Other articles of interest are "The Judgment of the Cross" by F. W. Orde Ward and "Viscount Morley's Recollections" by John Melford.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW.—
January 1918.

This is the third number of a periodical for which the editors deserve most cordial commendation. Their aim is to discuss philosophical problems in general and especially those which have a traditional or present-day connection with Indian thought. For this end a number of most distinguished contributors have been gathered together, and their contributions are printed and published in attractive form by the Oxford University Press. The Review is a quarterly, and is under the editorship of Professor Widgery of Baroda and Professor Ranade of Poona. To this issue Professor James Ward of Cambridge contributes an article on the "Belief, Certainty and Faith" which has all the difficulty and all the ability of Ward's usual work. Mr. Ranade continues his exposition of the "Psychology of the Upanishads" which title, however, is rather a misnomer as regards the well-informed treatment of the Upanishadic belief in transmigration which is given in the article. The numerous book-reviews are excellently done by competent authorities. If the Review can keep to the high level of this and the two preceding issues, it will entirely justify its existence.

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A FORGOTTEN MILITARY EXPEDITION IN BENGAL.

BY A KEITH JAMESON, I. C. S.

THE treaty of 27th September 1760 with Mir Kasim Ali gave the Honourable East India Company the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. They did not, however, by any means coincide with the present districts; with regard to Midnapur a large strip in the east and south-east was then within Hugli, but on the other hand on the west and north-west it extended far into the present districts of Bankura, Manbhum and Singhbhum and consisted of two sharply contrasted portions, flat alluvial country covering about 2,000 square miles on the east, and hilly and undulating country clothed with almost continuous jungle for the remaining 3,800 square miles. The sparse population of this second division consisting mainly of aboriginal tribes, Santals and others, living in scattered clearings reclaimed from the forest was ruled over by Hindu Chiefs who had conquered the country in long previous days and had maintained themselves in practical independence ever since, leading the life of mediæval barons fighting with one another and making raids into the plains. One Collector writes of them in the year 1803, "Most of them are constantly attended both at home and when they go abroad by a much greater number and variety of household officers and servants

than ever surround the person of the Governor-General, and they are certainly of great use, since they do not merely serve for state and parade but likewise afford necessary protection for their persons and enable them to command respect and obedience throughout their estates, and to prevent the predatory incursions by their neighbours and of the more remote and less orderly inhabitants of the hills. The jungle zemindars exercise a very extensive authority in their own estates and few of their dependants would think their property, or even perhaps their lives, safe while they might labour under the displeasure of their Maharaja—a title which by the courtesy of the jungles almost every zemindar enjoys in his own estate.” Another is less complimentary, “the zemindars (of the jungles) are mere freebooters who plunder their neighbours and one another and their servants are a Banditti whom they chiefly employ in these outrages. These depredations keep the zemindars and their servants continually in arms, for after the harvest is gathered there is scarcely one of them who does not call his ryots to his standard either to defend his own property or to attack his neighbours. The effects of this, I may say, feudal anarchy are that the revenue is very precarious, the zemindars are refractory, and the inhabitants rude and ungovernable.” It is true that they appear in Akbar’s assessment as paying revenue, but it may be doubted whether they ever actually did so and certainly they had taken advantage of the disturbances which marked the decline of the Moghal Empire to cease payment. When the East India Company took over the administration in 1760 they persisted in their defiance and after all attempts at peaceful persuasion had failed it was decided to send a force against them to compel their obedience and at the same time to revise the assessment. The general superintendence of affairs was entrusted to the Resident, as he was then called, of Midnapur and the story of this semi-military semi-political

expedition is to be found in the Midnapur Collectorate records ;¹ these are unfortunately by no means complete and many details are wanting, but a very constant interchange of letters was kept up between the Resident and the Officer Commanding the detachment and nearly 100 of these have been preserved from which a connected narrative of events can be gathered.

The leader of the expedition was Ensign John Fergusson—he was promoted Lieutenant shortly after he set out. His regiment is not known nor anything about himself personally, but from his rank and from the tone of his letters with their naïf expressions of satisfaction at the “very deputy-like figure I cut in the evenings,” it may be gathered that he was young and that this was his first independent command. The Resident had sent with him two natives experienced in the conduct of affairs to help in the re-assessment and these he proudly alludes to as his council ; as he says in one letter, “this latter part I wrote with my council beside me though I am sorry to say in the transactions of so polite a court a few barbarous expressions should be interspersed such as “Pagun” (the Bengali month Phalgun) “nobisinea” (?), etc. You’ll overlook I hope this little vein of gaiety as it gives me such spirits to have hitherto acted so satisfactorily to the person I am so desirous to please, and that too in the course of my public duty, that I can’t contain myself entirely,” and he assures the Resident that “I am the most stately man in the world and do keep my patience hitherto more than I thought myself capable of.” He was married and his wife accompanied him throughout the expedition, a surprising feat of endurance seeing that he was in the jungles continuously without returning to Midnapur for over a year and constantly on the move from one end to the other. How she travelled is not stated,

¹ Those for 1763–70 have been printed in *Bengal District Records* edited by Archdeacon Firminger, 1914.

but to anyone who knows what touring in the hot weather and the rains means even in these days the courage and devotion necessary to put up with the absence of roads and bungalows and of all comforts in addition to the inevitable trials of the climate must seem truly remarkable. She does not even appear to have had a female servant, for it was not until Fergusson had been out for some months that he wrote to the Resident to send a *dhye* as his wife had been unwell.

Particulars are wanting of the strength of the force, but in one letter Fergusson speaks of detaching one Sergeant, one Subadar, four Jemadars and 110 rank and file to capture a Chief who had fled, and as he was himself at the time settled in a captured fort he was probably able to spare at least half of the men under his command. In addition to the regulars he had a varying number of irregulars supplied by the zemindars of estates adjacent to the jungles; these were the Paiks, originally a fighting force maintained for purposes of defence or aggression and remunerated by grants of land free of rent, who when the Pax Britannica had once been established had to be content with the more humble rôle of village *chaukidars*. They numbered 450 to begin with, but reinforcements later brought them up to 670 with 33 horses. The regulars were, of course, armed with guns and there was at least one field gun firing grape-shot; the others probably had only spears.

The instructions of the Resident were that all zemindars who made their submission promptly and gave security for payment of an annual revenue were to be continued in their possession, while those who refused submission were to be proceeded against in a hostile manner and expelled from their dominions, others being appointed in their place and steps taken to prevent their creating any disturbance in future. The letter continues,

You will please be particularly watchful that no plunder

or ravage is committed by your men ; but that on the contrary the strictest lenity and moderation be observed and every encouragement given to the country people that you imagine can tend to ingratiate their affections towards our Government."

The expedition set out on 2nd February 1767 and next day reached Derua 19 miles due west from Midnapur on the river Kasai. There a halt was made and a summons sent to the zemindar of Jargong (Jhargram) whose fort lay about 12 miles further west. On receipt of evasive replies, however, the march was continued on the 4th, and after halting for the night at a village half way to Jhargram, where a large store of bullocks and rice was seized, they reached the fort on the night of the 5th, the casualties being three of the irregulars wounded by arrows in an attempt to recapture the grain. The remains of the fort are still visible, consisting of a stout earthen rampart 10 to 15 feet high and about 20 broad at the base overgrown with a dense thicket of bamboos and thorny plants with only two narrow entrances walled with blocks of laterite in the middle of the north and the south sides. Efficiently defended it would have proved a formidable obstacle, but as the troops approached one gate the garrison and the zemindar fled by the other and the fort was entered without opposition. The zemindar, however, was still at large and much time would have been required to hunt him down in the jungle, while the size of the force precluded the possibility of leaving a garrison to occupy the fort. Recourse was, therefore, had again to negotiation on the advice of the Resident who expressed himself as follows :—"The obstinacy or folly of this man has obliged you to proceed hostilely against him, and to make him the first example of the superiority of our arms ; let us also, if possible, make him the first example of our lenity and moderation, with a view of enjoining others to cheerful submission and allegiance to our Government. For

this purpose I would recommend you to write him a letter yourself setting before him the folly and absurdity of his conduct and the ill consequences they have been productive of to himself and his affairs ; but to convince him, however, that your original intentions were only to enforce his submission and obedience to his proper government, you still invite him to return in full security of protection, provided he is disposed to execute reasonable terms for the rents of his country and his future good conduct ; that to consider of and embrace this overture you will allow him a limited time (suppose 24 hours), after which space, if he still stands out, that measures will unquestionably be taken for his total expulsion from his zemindary and no subsequent advances on his part will be received or assented to." In the event of his refusing and continuing to offer resistance the fort was to be demolished and the villages laid waste. These terms were made known to him and backed up by active preparations for a march on Radnagar, one of his principal villages, with the result that he surrendered unconditionally.

The next letter is written from a camp at some place unnamed on the way to Balarampur. The effect of the demonstration at Jhargram was immediate ; four other zemindars of the neighbourhood, Jambani, "who has at last got over the hundred rupees he stuck so long at, Jhatibani, 'who looks something like a gentleman,' Ramgarh and Sankakula or Lalgargh, made their submission and agreed to the revenue proposed. Fergusson was now a person of consequence as he relates ; 'all his (*i.e.*, Jhatibani's) raiyats instead of running away like the others came in a body petitioning to see their master as they called me, which I indulged them in by going out of the limits on the encampment where they were. I was saluted with a general solem (*salaam*) and nusa (*naxsar*, a ceremonial present) from the others." The settlement thus effected covered the whole of the present thanas of Binpur

and Jhargram, an area of 700 square miles, and the total revenue assessed was only Rs. 3,215.

The expedition next proceeded to Balarampur, a village near the river Kasai on the borders of the present district of Bankura. Summonses were sent to five other zemindars, Supur, "Ameynagur" (Ambikanagar) and Chhatna in modern Bankura, Manbhum and "Burra Boioon" (Barahabhum) in Manbhum district. No attention being paid to these a further move was made first to Supur and then to Manbhum at the very extremity of the British possessions. This course was advocated by the Resident who writes : " I begin to apprehend that you have got amongst a set of people not so tractable or civilised as those situated near the Tanna (*i.e.*, Balarampur). You must be the best judge whether there appears to be any justice in this conjecture, but if you think there is you should, in my opinion, lose no time in bringing or reducing them to terms. The fears of these people have seldom failed to be operated on with success, but leaving them time to recollect themselves has been generally known to produce in them a degree of imperiousness, self-sufficiency and obstinacy. . . . To one and all of them, however, I would always advise you to give a previous warning, something of the nature which I directed to be sent to the Jargong zemindar." Fergusson's letter of 6th March shows that this policy was effectual in preventing an actual conflict. " Notwithstanding I did not act hostilely (*sic*) yet I may say my success was owing to my taking a proper advantage of their fears and sometimes indeed by flattering their ambitions." The success was indeed gratifying, for Fergusson reported that none of the five zemindars had less than 2,000 fighting men at his disposal, and if they had chosen to combine to resist the advance the small force might have been put to great difficulty in the trackless hilly jungle. The Manbhum chief, however, was not brought to terms until two detachments had been sent to capture him from

his place of refuge in the jungles which he avoided only by surrender. As regards the revenue Fergusson says, "their country at present wears a poor appearance and from mutual robberies committed on one another and from the oppression of the former Collector, Todel Mull"—apparently Akbar's great Finance Minister, who made the assessment of the entire Empire, is the person referred to—"many are really in no condition to pay a considerable revenue and those that are have wherewithal to prevent the intelligence coming to our ears so as to enable me to make a proper adjustment. I am therefore daily convinced from experience that your opinion, as expressed in my general instructions, though attended with some expense, will be the only method of reducing this country to the yielding of an adequate and orderly revenue, that is being stationed with some force in a central place, whereby awing the whole every individual would enjoy his own, and whereby further acquaintance with the people and country a just notion could be formed in what estimation it may be held. This also would give a sure beginning to the other intended purpose of re-opening the trade with such security as must, of course, make it flourish. Nor do I find on enquiry that the country is barren of a fund for commerce, for I understand they have abundance of iron, wax, oil, dammer, buffaloes, besides the capital article of timber; now could we but convince the people that by trading in these articles and by tilling their lands they will benefit themselves more and lead a happier life than by addicting themselves to theft and robbery as they do now, then would our point be gained in its utmost latitude." He was, however, prevented from immediately carrying out this intention by the necessity of proceeding against the zemindar of Ghatsila who was in open rebellion and he satisfied himself with a provisional settlement with the five zemindars for an annual revenue of Rs. 2,496 for an area of

1,350 square miles. He appears also to have taken in hand the administration of the conquered territory, for he writes to the Resident, "We want a reinforcement of 10 quire Bengala papers for the Cugerie Chiz (kutcherry chiz, *i.e.*, affairs) for my monsuliers hold court twice a day."

While he was in this neighbourhood a question arose as to the limits of the districts ceded in 1760. These were under the direct administration of the Company's servants, whereas in the rest of Bengal the Company was merely Diwan to the native authorities and enjoyed neither the same authority nor the same revenue as in the former. The Faujdar of Pachet, in the present Manbhum District, claimed that the zemindari of Chhatna appertained to his jurisdiction and not to Midnapur and sent Captain Upton with a detachment to compel the zemindar to pay revenue to him. As a settlement had just been concluded with him by Fergusson and as he protested that he could not "possibly milcurrow or bandbuskurrow" the revenue while the detachment was there as all his people had left their houses in fear and gone into the jungles, Fergusson wrote to Captain Upton explaining that he had been duly authorised to make the settlement of Chhatna and that "it would be for the benefit of our common master's service for him to remove his force out of the Chutna Perguna fully explaining that I pretended to nothing further than telling him that while he was there the Company's revenue could not be collected." Captain Upton, however, appears to have taken this as an insult to his authority and cited in support of his contention that Chhatna belonged to Pachet the fact that Lieutenant Carter who was engaged under Major Rennell in making the survey of that part of the country, had included it within Pachet. Fergusson, however, would suffer no encroachment on his sphere; as he writes to the Resident, "Captain Upton's letter convinces me that he has not given up the point regarding Chatinah. He seems

surprised that I should not immediately condemn the orders and information of my Chief so clearly and distinctly expressed on account of his assertions and because Lieutenant Carter happened to come that way in the course of his survey, as if the Chief of Midnapur was not a properer judge of the limits of his Province than a young gentleman about a year in the country who is ordered on a survey, I suppose because he knows the use of Gunter's chain and the theodolite and perhaps is an excellent hand at charts." The dispute had eventually to be referred to the Council at Murshidabad who decided in favour of Midnapur and ordered Upton to withdraw his troops.

While Fergusson was in Balarampur before proceeding to Maubhum he had received information regarding the attitude of the Ghatsila zemindar who ruled over a territory of about 1,200 square miles now known as Dhalbhum in Singhbhum District, and in his letter to the Resident he reported, "From the other quarter we are told the zemindar of Gatseelca has posted troops in all the avenues and inlets of his purgana and is determined not to admit a Phryngo (Firingi, *i.e.*, European) in his country on any account; this has induced me to delay sending his purwana until I arrive at the Tanna of Janpore that any contempt he may presume to offer to the Hon'ble Company in the person of their messenger may be immediately followed by chastisement, for I won't allow myself to suppose that he can defend himself against us." A couple of days later he says, "We still hear from the other quarter of the preparations of the Gatseela zemindar such as the breaking of the road, barricading all narrow passes by felling trees, etc. Notwithstanding of all which, I imagine he'll, like the rest, submit without striking a blow—if not the worse for him." The Resident apparently thought a word of caution was necessary to his young Lieutenant and he wrote, "His preparations for war only serve to demonstrate his folly, although, as I believe it is a good

rule in generalship not to despise the enemy we have to oppose, they may render a greater degree of caution and circumspection necessary on your part." To this Fergusson replied, "You may depend upon my discretion in all my proceedings; I shall in every respect act with more caution than if my operation were purely military, sensible that if I met with the least check, not to mention repulse, it would undo all our prior success." He further reported, "I am made acquainted with a circumstance which may be of importance, *viz.*, a breach which has for some time existed between the Gatseela zemindar and his nephew and heir whom he has driven from his territories and who at present resides with another zemindar; and this breach is of more importance from the present zemindar's suspicious and distrustful temper which evidences itself by his shutting himself up in a strong house within the Fort lest his people should murder him, and putting many of them to death on bare suspicion. From the circumstances, if true, I should be apt to imagine that by setting up the heir in opposition to the tenant that his people would be detached from him and he become an easy prey."

When he returned to Balarampur from Manbhum on 12th March, Fergusson sent "Harcaros," *i.e.*, messengers, to Ghatsila, but they were turned back on the confines of the estate by a guard of 150 bowmen. The expedition therefore marched to Jambani (in the present Jhargram Thana on the extreme west of Midnapur District) which it reached on the 17th. A letter of the same date reports, "Having principally by means of Mogul Ray, Zemindar of Jatbunia (*i.e.*, Jhatibani, an adjoining estate), got a tolerable account of his force, dispositions, and the route, I think I can depend, as far as any person can in such cases, on being able to force his intrenchments and make my way good into his Fort. In this opinion I am seconded by all my little army who are in very good health and

high spirits, seem sufficiently satisfied with their Commander's abilities, etc." The next letter is dated the 18th and describes the first brush with the enemy : "A force of about 2,000 had entrenched themselves and made a parapet of palisadoes in a plain about 3 coss (*i.e.*, 6 miles) from Jambunia having the channel of a nulla and a jungle in their rear. Having resolved last night to attack this force at break of day if possible I set out at 1 o'clock in the morning, resolving to march slowly and circumspectly it being very clear moonlight, but such were the length of these cosses and such the badness of the roads, having all of them in his pargana to make them as we marched, and also two considerable nullas to pass which they only abandoned as we approached, that instead of arriving at daylight, we were only able to reach this tanna of his at 10 o'clock. The enemy soon abandoned their post and betook themselves into the channel of the nulla with a view, I believe, of flanking us in the storm, but we were guarded against this as well as against an ambuscade which they had laid on the bank of a tank to the left of the rear ; for having examined the ground on all sides before the onset, I resolved to divide my force in such a manner as to attack them in these places at once, which I accordingly did, and my force drove the enemy before them clear out of the jungle and over a large plain into the village of Bind, where about 200 of them endeavoured to make a stand to no purpose. With regard to my troops I must say the seapoys behaved very bravely but not like disciplined troops, for that party which I sent under command of Sergeant Bascombe to storm the nulla in the jungle, broke at once and ran on without keeping any order, and it was with much difficulty I could keep the small party with myself and with the guns from running after the rest into the jungle when they found there was nothing to do in the entrenchments which were abandoned. The number of slain on the enemy's side I have not been able

to learn yet, it being in the jungle that the execution was done ; but three heads have been found that the guns have shot off, but of my men there is not one so much as hurt, not even a provincial," the letter is signed " John Fergusson, who has an immense headache so hopes inaccuracies will be excused." Next day, the 19th, the march was resumed, but the enemy was found posted outside a village Mandalackura two miles further on ; they were dispersed with seven rounds of grape and two or three platoons and a running fight was maintained for 6 miles, the enemy endeavouring to harass the troops from the cover of the jungle on all sides but without much effect. Five or six of the irregulars were wounded and one of the horsemen had his leg broken by a matchlock ball which Fergusson reports with pride he had set, " though the doctor will say that a gunshot wound and fracture is a very difficult case." A halt was made at the village of Choakla, where the enemy was all round them in the jungles but did not dare to come out. Next day, the 20th, the running fight was again kept up, but Ghatsila was successfully reached by 9 o'clock at night. The fort was found to be abandoned and on fire, but a considerable quantity of grain was saved which was most fortunate as the enemy had burned all the villages on the way and were lying hid in the jungles all round so that provisions might otherwise have been difficult to obtain.

The Raja being still at large with a considerable force Fergusson hesitated to embark on a chase through unknown country and set himself first to detach the people from him and set up a rival. In this he was assisted by the character of the man who had made himself disliked by many of his subjects and hated by all the neighbouring chiefs and was, in Fergusson's words, " such a barbarous monster that he is by no means to be countenanced by a civilised nation." He was completely successful and by 29th March he was able to report that the people themselves had given him information of the Raja's hiding place

and offered to guide him to it ; he sent a detachment under a Sergeant who captured him with little difficulty and brought him to the fort whence he was sent under escort to Midnapur. His nephew, Kunudali, whom Fergusson proposed to instal in his place, had been afraid to leave his place of refuge with the zemindar of Barahabhum while the event was still undecided, but as soon as his uncle had been taken he hastened to Ghatsila. After some negotiations the revenue was fixed at Rs. 5,500 a year and the zemindary made over to him " under the name of Jugernutdol (Jagannath Dhal) it being customary to change names on like occasion." The deposed zemindar was given an allowance of Rs. 30 a month.

Matters having been thus satisfactorily arranged Fergusson returned to Balarampur in the middle of April. He had fixed on this as his " central place " from which he could keep the newly-acquired territories in peace and order and encourage trade and development of resources. For some time disturbances were caused by four leaders of small bands of armed dacoits who committed ravages in several of the Parganas making it difficult for the zemindars to collect their revenue, and also engaged in an extensive illicit trade in salt with the Mahratta country. Three of them seem to have been suppressed by the zemindars themselves with the assistance of small detachments from Fergusson's force, but the fourth who was operating in Ghatsila gave more trouble and the new zemindar of that Pargana was suspected of secretly countenancing him as an excuse for refusal to pay his revenue. Written orders proved of no effect, for though the zemindar captured the leader he conveniently allowed him to escape immediately after. At length in August Fergusson was compelled to make an expedition in force to Ghatsila ; no resistance was experienced this time and the zemindar at once capitulated and begged for mercy and was reinstated with a warning against such conduct in future. What became of the

dacoit leader is not stated but apparently no further trouble was caused by him. The reinstatement was followed by an incident very characteristic of the times. No sooner had Fergusson returned again to Balarampur than the zemindar paid a visit to him and requesting a private audience expressed his desire to mark his gratitude for the lenient treatment accorded to him by a gift of Rs. 300 "which, though far inferior to his inclinations, yet he was obliged to confine himself to on account of his circumstances." Fergusson at once reported the matter to the Resident, though as he says "I really believe that had I received it and held my tongue you never would have heard it from the donor; he in all appearance gives it from his heart. But this would have transgressed the laws of honour which I hope never to be guilty of." He therefore requested instructions whether he was to accept or refuse the gift. The reply has not been preserved, but the incident shows the good effect which Clive's reforms had produced; prior to them there is little doubt that the bribe would have been accepted as a matter of course. His headquarters remained at Balarampur from his return till April 1768, but he had to make frequent expeditions to quiet disturbances which arose from time to time in various parts of his sphere of control. Throughout, however, he kept in view the main object of his mission which he describes as "promoting the plan of civilising and familiarising the country people to our Government, also lessening the despotic sway of the zemindars by informing and instructing the raiyats that in cases of oppression there was redress." Force was resorted to only when all other measures failed and most of his time appears to have been taken up with inquiring into complaints and settling disputes between adjacent zemindars or between zemindars and their tenants. He was allowed, however, apparently to engage in business on his own account, for there are incidental references to transactions the nature of which is

not indicated and in one letter he requests to be given the contract for supplying timber.

The last letter from him is dated in April 1768. Trouble had again arisen in Ghatsila and the Raja, led away by the advice of those around him, was asserting independence. He considered it desirable to talk matters over personally with the Resident and was about to leave for Midnapur, his first visit for over a year. What became of him after this there is nothing to show ; apparently he did not return to Balarampur nor was anyone sent there in his place. The Ghatsila affair reached a crisis in June by the open rebellion of the Raja and a military expedition had again to be undertaken. It was under command at first of Lieutenant Rooke, but he fell ill soon after it set out and Captain Morgan was sent to relieve him. The Raja fled across the Subarnarekha river on the approach of the force and as it was in the middle of the rains no steps could be taken to pursue him ; he was deposed and his brother "Nemoo Doll" installed in his place and by September the country was once more quiet. In the beginning of the year 1770 an incursion in force was made by the tribes from the hills to the west of British territory and two detachments were sent—one under Lieutenant Forbes operating from Ghatsila, the other under Lieutenant Nunn from Manbhum. Both of them suffered unfortunate reverses ; a party of 20 sepoys left by Forbes in a small fort was entirely cut off and all of them killed, while Nunn allowed himself to be surprised with the result that a Sergeant, a Subadar and 20 sepoys were killed and he himself, another Subadar and 40 sepoys were wounded. By April, however, the invaders had been repelled and thenceforward there was no occasion for military expeditions.

One of the most noticeable features of the correspondence between Fergusson and the Resident, at first John Graham and from April 1767 onwards George Vansittart, is

the intimate tone of the letters. There is no official stiffness about them, they are written as from one friend to another and Fergusson's relations, especially with Graham, are most cordial. The boy; for he can have been little more, evidently had a great admiration for Graham and looked up to him as his guide and counsellor rather than as an official superior, while Graham appears to have treated him with a very kindly authority. The usual conclusion of Fergusson's letters is, "with best wishes and respects to Mrs. Graham and children and compliments to the gentlemen at Midnapur, with real regard I am, Dear Sir, your earnest well-wisher and humble servant." In one letter he says, "The deep impression which that warm style in your letter makes on me it would be vain to attempt to express. This, however, I must add that I am conscious to myself of daily applying to the Supreme Source of all good for the success and prosperity of yourself and family." And again, "your opening of my letter or any of mine would require no apology from you. It would be a piece of freedom that would give me pleasure knowing that it would be to satisfy your kindly curiosity in something regarding my advantage. If this displeases you scratch it out for I was dreaming when I wrote." One would like to know more about the writer and his subsequent career, but one may hope that with his engaging disposition, his keenness on his work and his evident level-headedness it was successful.

A. K. JAMESON.

Midnapur.

BENGALI WRITERS OF ENGLISH VERSE.

BY T. O. D. DUNN.

THROUGHOUT the Empire and in Europe the name of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore is associated with a literary achievement that in India has been hitherto unfulfilled : this achievement is nothing less than the mastery of a pure, simple and lucid English style that recalls the golden age of English letters. This alone would justify some enquiry into the origin in India of the study of English language and literature, and to the discovery of such other writers as have attempted literary expression in the alien English tongue. Of this enquiry the first part must be necessarily limited ; and fortunately the salient facts lie easily to hand. The second part must be confined to Bengali writers, as space forbids a wider survey ; and so this essay will attempt to give a brief sketch of the literary work of the Bengali people in the domain of English poetry over a period of about one hundred years.

It is natural that the work of these writers should be closely allied with the educational influences of their time. This is no place to sketch the history of the Hindu College in Calcutta, or to trace the earlier efforts of disinterested pioneers in the cause of education. It is enough to say that the first English teaching institution in Bengal had, in the years of its foundation, a group of teachers and patrons whose enthusiasm in their particular work has never been surpassed. At this period the most notable teacher was Captain David Lester Richardson. He came to India as an ensign in the Bengal Infantry. In 1824 ill-health compelled his return to

England, where he took up literary work in London and was successful in securing recognition as a poet of promise. On his return to India in 1829, he became editor of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette* and of the *Bengal Annual*. Some time later he was appointed aide-de-camp to Lord William Bentinck ; and in 1836, through the influence of Macaulay, he became Principal of the Hindu College. This position was congenial to him ; and for the next twenty-five years his life was devoted to the enthusiastic teaching of English literature, language and history. His "Selections from the British Poets," published in 1840 at the suggestion of Macaulay, shows how generous was his view of the range of literature that was suitable for the study of young Indians. His poems and essays are still delightful reading ; and, but for the accident of publication in the then remote city of Calcutta, would have secured a larger audience and more permanent recognition. From the records that remain of his teaching it appears to have been exclusively of a literary character, and to have aimed at the presentation of the best in English literature. He delighted in the art of interpretation, and was famous as a reader of English verse. Macaulay is said to have admitted that one compensation of his exile in Calcutta was to hear Richardson read Shakespeare.

When serving on the Committee of Public Instruction, Macaulay acted as examiner in the Hindu College. He has left a record of his work in 1836 that makes curious reading in this present age of conflicting pedagogic theories. He speaks of examining on the texts of Shakespeare, Bacon, Cowley and Swift ; and writes with a characteristic absence of misgiving or hesitation : "I gave a subject for an essay, the comparative advantage of the study of poetry and the study of history." Whatever the examinees made of this majestic theme, there can be no doubt that with Richardson for teacher and Macaulay for examiner,

the atmosphere of their work was saturated with the literary spirit, and their labours were not confined to any petty pedagogic routine. In 1861 Captain Richardson left India. It is not possible to describe his long career in detail, or to state precisely what scholastic advantages were enjoyed by the Bengali youth of his time. But it is easy to name certain things connected with educational life that did not exist in these pre-mutiny days. There was no University of Calcutta with its tentacles spread over four vast provinces. There was no examination fetish, nor any extensive system of cheap secondary education. German philology had not as yet invaded the fair domain of letters. There were no "honours schools" of modern literature ; and wise pedagogues had not yet begun to wrangle over what a Bengali boy ought, or ought not, to know. The aim of College work was to learn the English language ; and, towards this end, the good fortune of Bengal provided patrons and teachers who combined scholarship with culture and who had lived largely in the life of their time.

Whatever literary work of value was done by Bengalis in English up to the year 1875 may be traced to their influence and example. The ill-fated Henry Derozio, born and educated in Calcutta and for some time a teacher in the Hindu College, had won speedy renown by his fluent and impassioned poetry. The art of expression in verse had been exemplified by Captain Richardson who was ever ready to encourage literary effort. It was no wonder therefore that the Indian students of that time should have attempted to demonstrate their mastery over the new language of their curriculum by the challenge of poetic authorship. The first Bengali publication in English verse belongs to the year 1830. This was the *Shair, or Minstrel*, written by Kasiprasad Ghosh. The book was a substantial one of about two hundred pages, thoroughly well printed by Scott of the India Gazette Press and

dedicated to Lord William Bentinck. In addition to the Shair there are several poems on Indian festivals after the manner of Sir William Jones' hymns to the Hindu deities. The influence of Sir Walter Scott is apparent in this work, the various cantos of which are separately dedicated to such famous contemporaries as Horace Hayman Wilson and Henry Meredith Parker. The verse is agreeably imitative and everywhere pleasing. There is no real originality either in the form of the poem or in its subject; but for the year 1830 the performance is notable. Richardson included some of the poems of Kasiprasad Ghosh in his delightful anthology of prose and verse, *The Bengal Annual*, published on seven occasions between 1830 and 1837. This is sufficient proof that in his own day the Bengali poet was recognized as a competent writer of English verse. To Richardson these young authors looked for encouragement and patronage; and to him in 1841 was dedicated the work of Rajnarain Dutt. This was "Osmyn, an Arabian Tale," a lengthy poem written in heroic couplets and following a fashion that, by the year 1841, had been already dead in England. The verse is in parts pleasingly reminiscent of an antique manner :—

What thundering sound upon the midnight wind
Comes louder and yet louder from behind ?
The caverned echoes wake ; the vaults of stone
Relieve the clattering tramp in varied tone !
Who comes so late and armed, at headlong speed
With sable turban, cloak and barbed steed !

The poem is no more than a lengthy experiment in pentameters ; but its appearance indicates with what diligence the metrical forms of English poetry were studied in pre-University days in Bengal.

Both the authors already mentioned heralded the appearance of one of the most distinguished of Indian writers whose work in Bengali has won an established reputation.

Michael Madhusudan Dutt was born in 1824 and educated in the Hindu College. He was the favourite pupil of Richardson who encouraged his aspirations towards authorship. In 1843 he became a Christian ; and after residence in the Bishop's College for four years, he went to Madras. About ten years later, on his return to Calcutta, he became famous as a poet. He created Bengali blank verse, and associated himself with the theatre. In 1861 his classical narrative poem, *Meghanad-badh*, and his translation of the notorious "Nil Darpan" brought him prominently before the public. In the following year he went to England and studied law. In spite of his having been called to the English bar, his career in Calcutta was unfortunate, and he died in 1873 in great poverty. His life story has the tragic brevity associated with genius ; but his name is beloved by his countrymen. In Madras, in 1849, long before his visit to England, he published his best known English poem, *The Captive Ladie*, and at once demonstrated the ability of the Bengali educated in Bengal to capture the elusive spirit of English metrical form. This demonstration has been repeated time and again ; but the honour of its first performance rests with Michael Madhusudan Dutt.

The Captive Ladie has the type of heroic theme that Scott and Coleridge loved. Its period is that of Mahmud of Ghazni, and its subject the jealousy existing between the King of Delhi and the King of Kanoje. The latter had celebrated the time-honoured feast of victory ; and the former refusing to acknowledge his overlordship, had by a deed of violence carried off one of the ladies of his family. The insult was never forgotten ; and when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India, Delhi unsupported was stormed and sacked. Before the entrance of the Moslems to the city, the King of Delhi and his captive princess were burned voluntarily on the same funeral pyre. This

mediæval romance has been fittingly treated by the poet in the famous octosyllabic metre that Scott, Byron and Coleridge had made popular in Europe. It is impossible to deny Michael Dutt's debt to these masters; but he has followed skilfully in their steps, and on occasion rises to the call of his romantic theme. As the style throughout the poem is remarkably consistent, it is difficult to select suitable passages for quotation. The description of Mahmud of Ghazni's marauding host is well done; and the dramatic representation of his murderous intent towards the besieged Hindus of Delhi is in the very spirit of Byron's eastern tales :—

A thousand lamps all gaily shine
Along the wide extended line;
And loud the laugh and proud the boast
Swells from that fierce, unnumber'd host;
And wild the prayer ascends on high—
Dark vengeance thine impatient cry—
“ Oh ! for a glimpse of Day's fair brow
To crush yon city towering now,
To make each cafir-bosom feel
The unerring blade of Moslem steel !
By Alla ! how I long to be
Where myriads writhe in agony,
And mark each wretch with rolling eye
Call on false gods, then curse and die,
Meet pilgrim for the dire domain,
Where Eblis holds his sunless reign !
To-morrow—Oh ! why wilt thou, Night !
Thus veil the smile of Day so bright ?
We want not now thy Moon and Star
In pensive beauty shrin'd afar,—
We want not now thy pearly dew
To dim our falchion's blood-red hue—
Thy lonely breath thus passing by,
Like Beauty's whispered, farewell sigh :
Go !—Hie thee hence !—where Roonabad,
With murmuring waters wildly glad,
Doth woo thy stars to silver rest
Upon its gently-heaving breast ;
Or, where soon as the sun hath set,

And dome, kiosk and minaret
 Glow with thy pale moon's gentler beam,
 Like the bright limnings of some dream,
 The lover gaily tunes his lay—
 The rosy bowers of Mosellay--
 We want thee not :—the brightest flood
 The fiery sun can ever shed
 Must blaze o'er warrior's deeds of blood,
 And light him on whence'er he tread
 The field where foe-men fierce and brave
 Meet. slay or win a bloody grave !”

There are touches of genuine pathos and quaint beauty in the poem when the spirit of Hinduism flames up and illumines its western form. The King of Delhi knows his city to be doomed and refuses to survive the disgrace, His request that his bride, the Captive Ladie, should fly, is met by the fine rejoinder :—

Oh ! never, never will this heart
 Be sever'd, love, to beat apart !
 For in the forest's green retreat,
 Where leafy branches twine and meet,
 Though wildly round dread Agni roars,
 Like angry surge by rock-girt shores,
 The soft gazelle of liquid eye
 Leaves not her mate alone to die !

The more stirring episodes of Indian history and legend have continued to inspire our Indian poets ; but seldom have they attained to this fluency and grace. The Captive Ladie is the one notable work in English produced by Michael Dutt. His other English poems are slight and without distinction, and he devoted himself in his later years to the cultivation of Bengali.

In the year 1851 Hara Chandra Dutt produced in Calcutta a small volume of poems called “ Fugitive Pieces” many of which were reprinted twenty years later in his second volume of verse named “ Lotus Leaves.” Both works are slight ; but they contain a pleasing variety of

themes drawn from Indian history, and the verse is everywhere graceful. They were the forerunners of a much more important production—"The Dutt Family Album" of 1870. This collection contains about two hundred poems written by Govinda, Hara, Girish and Omesh Chandra Dutt, the sons and nephews of Rasamoy Dutt, the Secretary of the Hindu College Committee and a Commissioner of the Court of Requests. The volume was published in London. The preface is interesting: the joint authors stated that "they venture on publication, not because they think their verses good, but in the hope that their book will be regarded, in some respects, as a curiosity. They are foreigners, natives of India, of different ages and of different walks of life, yet of one family. As foreigners educated out of England, they solicit the indulgence of British critics to poems which on these grounds alone, may have some title to their attention." The book was handsomely produced by Messrs. Longmans Green, and will hold a prominent place in whatever record of Bengali literature may be written in the future. It is impossible to ignore this publication: the quality of the verse, the range and variety of theme, the command of various metrical forms, and the restraint and dignity of the style are everywhere remarkable. The most notable of the four authors were Govinda and Omesh who produced 66 and 73 poems out of the total of 197. They published no other volumes of verse of any note; and, save for much occasional poetry written in magazines by Omesh, they must be judged solely on the merits of "The Dutt Family Album." Indian history, legend and landscape, the picturesque elements of the Christian and the Hindu faiths, and such ideas as would attract an oriental in his first intercourse with the west, provide the subjects of these poems. Lengthy quotation is impossible; but as "The Dutt Family Album" has become a book of great rarity, it is necessary to give some extracts at the

risk of trespassing upon space. Govinda Chandra Dutt recalls the quaint manner of certain of our seventeenth century poets when he writes thus :—

When from the dewsprent rose the blustering wind
 Steals leaf by leaf away,
 Sighs the sad flower to leave no trace behind,
 No record of its day ?

When the fair colours in the rainbow laid,
 Dissolve in heaven's own hue,
 Weep they to find their glories blend and fade
 Into the pristine blue ?

When stars on stars before the rising sun
 Sink down and disappear,
 Mourn any that its brief career is run,
 And leaves no vestige here ?

Why then should man alone indulge in grief,
 Or ever wish to give
 A frail memorial of his sojourn brief
 To those who later live ?

He shows considerable command of a more intricate stanza when he writes on the subject of Wordsworth's poetry and concludes as follows :—

Hail, ye Rydalian laurels that have grown
 Untended by the Poet's calm abode,
 And in the footpaths that he often trod
 Wrapt in deep thought, at evening time, alone.
 No Delphic wreath he wanted, when he found
 Nature unveiled in all her loveliness ;
 But these wild leaves and wilder flowers that bless
 Our common earth he prayed for, and she bound
 His brows therewith ; and see, they never fade,
 A crown of amaranth by her own hands made.

Omesh Chandra Dutta was attracted mainly by the stirring incidents of Indian legend, and tells a story well. He wrote with ease ; and, while contributing the largest

number of poems to the Album, he provided much interesting verse for such periodicals as Mukerjee's Magazine.

Of the remaining authors who collaborated on the "Dutt Family Album," there remain to mention Hara Chandra and Girish Chandra Dutt. The former's work has already been noticed in "Fugitive Pieces" and "Lotus Leaves." His part in the Album was slight and amounted to eleven poems in all. Girish contributed 47 separate pieces; and in 1887 published with Messrs. Fisher Unwin a separate volume of poems entitled "Cherry Blossoms." In this work several of the earlier contributions to the Album were reprinted; but the greater number of the poems were new. The volume was carefully produced and contains much of interest and value. The author had specialised in the difficult sonnet form; and of the 165 poems that make up the volume, no less than 70 are sonnets. The subjects of these poems are as varied as the author's experiences derived from much travel in Europe and India. He speaks of Gibraltar with a fine feeling of patriotism :—

That flag that here floats proudly in the air,
The silent warders on the ramparts white,
The guns that hide in sheltered nooks from sight,
Or from the seaward scarp, their chosen lair,
Gaze on the waters with a steadfast stare;
The rock-cut embrasures ablaze at night,
The mole, the ships, the keep's commanding height.
All speak of stern resolve, and watchful care.
For leagued in arms should Europe rise once more,
To question on this steep the Lion's reign,
Swift must the deadly hail of battles pour,
As on the day when baffled France and Spain
Beheld their vaunted ships in flames ashore,
Or drifting helpless on the stormy main.

The solemnity of these sonnets is relieved by the more lively measures of the historical and legendary poems.

At times he produces heroical stanzas that might delight the heart of a schoolboy, as in Samarsi :—

Samarsi the bold is the pride of his clan,
But he owns not an acre in broad Rajasthan ;
Samarsi the bold is the hope of the true,
But his sporran is empty, his henchmen are few ;
For the Moors o'er the Jumna in triumph have come
And Samarsi the bold is an exile from home.

With this last work of Girish Chandra Dutta the poetical effort of the gifted quartette of relatives may be said to have reached its height. Their achievement was remarkable both in its quality and in its consistency. That portion of their literary work that has been embodied in "The Dutt Family Album" will remain not only as a memorial of a gifted family, but as a testimony to the character and influence of those English teachers who were the first to encourage the higher learning in the city of Calcutta.

It is natural that Indian historical themes should bulk largely in the poetry now under consideration. Their most successful treatment was accomplished by Soshi Chandra Dutt who published in 1878 with Messrs. Thacker Spink his "Vision of Sumeru and Other Poems." The greater part of this volume is taken up with historical and legendary verse of great interest ; and of this kind, save for the work of Toru Dutt, it is the best that Bengali writers have to show. To the same date belongs the verse of the Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore whose "Flights of Fancy" appeared in 1881. This is a slight volume of occasional poetry dealing with a variety of pleasant topics and exhibiting a cultivated command of English metre. Of the writers of this period there remains to mention Naba Krishna Ghosh who wrote under the pseudonym of Ram Sharma. His verse is scattered throughout a number of magazines that appeared between the years 1873 and 1891 in Calcutta. In 1886 he published his blank verse

poem "The Last Day" in which he embodied interesting portraits of such outstanding men as David Hare, Ram Mohan Roy, Lord Canning and Dr. Duff. To Mukerjee's Magazine and to "Reis and Rayet" he was a frequent contributor. The poems that have appeared in these journals are distinguished for the vigour of their expression and for the independence of their author's mind. His tendency was towards social and political themes; and he cultivated a habit of outspokenness that was greatly emphasised by the refinement and energy of his language. He was born in the year of Queen Victoria's accession, and died in the present year at the age of 81.

Ram Sharma's career is a link with the past. While he was educated in the Oriental Seminary under Captain Francis Palmer, and may have missed the influence of Richardson and the Hindu College, he belongs to the period that includes the work of the ten poets named in this essay. Of these writers no one received his early education in England; and it is certain that none of them may be described as products of the Calcutta University system. The best of their work was accomplished by the time of the publication of the "Dutt Family Album" in 1870. It follows, therefore, that their education and encouragement towards literature were received long before the foundation of the Indian Universities. The fact is significant. It associates educational and literary activity in Bengal with individuals rather than with institutions. David Hare, Ram Mohan Roy, Henry Derozio, Richardson and Macaulay—these are the names upon which the student of the scholastic history of the first half of the nineteenth century in Bengal will love to linger. They stand for disinterested benevolence, unrestrained enthusiasm and vast scholarship. Along with the strong personal influence of these men, there was much in the life of their period that made fruitful scholastic work possible. The rush of modern competition transforming

school and college courses into an immediate means towards desperately desired ends, had not yet set in. There existed an intimate relationship between teachers and students ; and the latter, as their work has proved, were often disinterested disciples of the art of letters.

But more than disciples they were not. To the student of Indian educational history their work must be of abiding interest ; but in the larger world of literature it can hold no distinctive place. Such poetry as they produced was Indian only in so far as it was written in Bengal, and was the result of education received therein. But here its oriental character begins and ends. Indian history and legend provide many subjects for this poetry ; but these have been treated in a purely objective way and might have come from a western pen. Of this kind Michael Dutt and S. C. Dutt are the best exponents. But the former excels merely in his ability to follow his masters, Scott and Coleridge ; and the latter seldom throws any eastern light upon his themes. In dealing with the intimacies of the Hindu faith, it might be expected that these writers would produce something of unique interest. There are frequent odes on Indian deities and on religious festivals ; but none of them are really arresting in their sincerity, or provide anything that is essentially eastern in conception. When Kasiprasad Ghosh addresses Saraswati in this manner—

Goddess of every mental grace,
And virtue of the soul,
Which high exalt the human race,
And lead to glory's goal,

'Tis thou who bidst the infant mind,
Its growing thoughts display,
Which lay within it undefined
In regular array

he is merely re-echoing the jingle of such eighteenth century rhymesters as William Hayley, and fails utterly to

reproduce the atmosphere of his own faith. In this way the literary work of our earliest Bengali poets must be described as disappointing. But certain themes have occasionally aroused the genuine ardour of the poet ; and have been treated with an oriental quality of fervour. These are chiefly connected with the memory of India's past ; and have been well illustrated by S. C. Dutt in his *Address to the Ganges*. Here, if anywhere in this literature, may be found that sincerity without which art withers and dies. Some of the lines of this poem are memorable :—

Canst thou forget thy glorious past,
When, mighty as a god,
With hands and heart unfetterd yet,
And eyes with slavish tears unwet,
Each sable warrior trod
Thy sacred shore ; before the blast
Of Moslem conquest hurried by ;
Ere yet the Mogul spear was nigh ?
O'er crumbled thrones thy waters glide,
Through scenes of blood and woe ;
And crown and kingdom, might and sway
The victor's and the poet's bay
Ignobly sleep below.
Sole remnant of our ancient pride,
Thy waves survive the wreck of time
And wanton free as in their prime.
I gaze upon thy current strong
Beneath the blaze of day :
What conjured visions throng my sight
Of war and carnage, death and flight !
Thy waters to the bay
In purple eddies sweep along,
And Freedom shrieking leaves her shrine,
Alas ! no longer now divine.

But if a general judgment must be given, on the side of purely oriental imagery and conception the poetry now under consideration has scarcely anything of value. On no occasion has any single author risen to the level of interpretation attained by Sir Edwin Arnold in his *Song of*

the Serpent Charmers or in his Hymn to Durga. And the reason may be that these early workers in an alien tongue were anxious to anglicise not only their vocabulary but their ideas. In brief the result has been the production of much verse that can be most adequately described as a body of competent academic exercises.

It cannot be denied that amongst the writers already named there is a high level of technical excellence. The principles of English prosody have been grasped and put into practice; and at times the subtler harmonies of English metre have been pleasingly imitated. Indeed the trick of reproducing the manner of a poet of genius has been performed on occasion with amazing success. Govinda Chandra Dutt in his "Farewell to Romance" well illustrates this when he writes :

Who hath not seen thee in his chamber still
 At dead of night ? For me, I've seen thee oft,
 When through the lattice came the moonlight chill,
 With incense from the garden borne aloft.
 The star of peace flamed ever on thy brow
 Just where the hair was parted, and thy face,
 That pale and pensive face, was aye serene
 As a white lotus on its watery throne :
 One hand upheld a verdant cypress bough,
 The other on thy lip with artless grace
 A finger pressed—while o'er thy head was seen,
 Round yet apart, a rainbow tinted zone.

If space permitted, similar examples might be multiplied : but it is useless to press too closely the illustration of what must be obvious to the careful reader of Bengali writers of English verse. Their work, as confined to the authors already named, is limited in conception, and contributes little to the understanding of the Eastern mind. Its themes are best described as occasional ; and these are treated with such command of versification as provides the pleasure to be found in the perusal of all clever literary exercise,

So far the writers named have been educated entirely in India, and have moved in no literary society other than that of their own creation. Appropriately enough this tradition was broken by the daughter of Govinda Chandra Dutt whose work has been noticed in connection with "The Dutt Family Album." Toru Dutt was born in 1852, and went to England with her parents at the age of thirteen. After various courses of education in England and France, she returned to Calcutta in 1873. Here she began to study Sanskrit, and to contribute to such periodicals as the *Bengal Magazine* edited by the Rev. Lal Behari De. In 1877 she died of consumption. Her untimely death was a heavy blow to the literature of the British Empire. What might have been accomplished by this gifted authoress, has been shown by Edmund Gosse in his publication in 1888 of Toru Dutt's "Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan." This work is not large in quantity, but its value is undeniable. Unlike her predecessors Toru Dutt did not wilfully anglicise her ideas. For the first time in literature of this kind there is struck a genuinely Indian note; and through the medium of a perfect English expression, there is conveyed something of the sincerity of a mind proud of the intellectual traditions of its native land. The technical skill of this poetess is superior to that of any of her predecessors; and this, in view of her extreme youth, is little short of amazing. Her verse is finely knit, vigorous and of a pleasing variety. It is never obviously imitative, and moves with such freedom and independence as are inseparable from genuinely creative work. Toru Dutt was nurtured in a literary family; but this environment does not wholly explain the achievement of this gifted lady whose genius was so tragically denied maturity. She brought to her work a certain fervid originality that, before the end of the nineteenth century, redeemed Bengali literature in English from the commonplace.

She is the first of the new school of Indian poets, and both in England and India her place and her memory are assured.

Two writers no longer alive remain to be mentioned. Romesh Chandra Dutt popularised Indian classical literature by his voluminous verse translations. These have been handsomely published in England ; and must possess a certain interest for the "reading public." But as artistic productions in verse they are probably inferior to any thing else of their kind. Roby Dutt has studied European literature extensively, and dissipated much genuine literary talent in experimental translations. His original work is inferior to that of many of his predecessors ; and, in spite of his extensive scholarship, he does not reach the level of "The Dutt Family Album." Both writers had the advantage of the best European culture, but they have nothing more to give than what they have received from scholarship.

Of living authors this is no place to speak at length. It is enough to say that the literary traditions of Bengal as established by Toru Dutt are being adequately, but not extensively, maintained. Sarojini Naidu continues to delight a large public in England and India by verse that is fluent and graceful. Monmohan Ghose has brought to the work of a poet a fine scholarship and a fastidious critical taste. In his poems the technical skill of Bengali writers of English verse has reached its highest level. It is hoped that the varied work of this gifted author will be made adequately and conveniently accessible. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore does not come within the scope of this essay. In his choice of a medium of expression, he has disdained "the jingling sound of like endings" ; but to his refined and lucid prose many a western will turn for refreshment in those ideas of eastern birth that so far have been foreign to the mind of most anglicised versifiers in Bengal.

THE FIRST INDIAN FACTORIES ACT.

(ACT XV OF 1881.)

BY J. C. KYDD.

ALTHOUGH as early as 1784 attention was directed to the conditions and terms of employment of factory labour in the United Kingdom it was not till 1802 that the first Bill dealing with the subject—"The Health and Morals of Apprentices Bill"—was introduced into Parliament and it was passed without difficulty largely because it was regarded more as poor law than as factory legislation, as it dealt with the employment of pauper children.¹ By 1819, however, when the second Factory Act was passed opposition was keen, but, during the succeeding years agitation, fostered by such philanthropists as Michael Sadler and Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, for the extension of Government control resulted in a series of Acts, which did not, however, deal with industry as a whole. The Consolidating Act of 1878 regularised the position.²

Once the first and most important encounters in the battle of the Factory Acts had been fought in the United Kingdom it was, perhaps, but natural that attention should be drawn to the need of India, as its manufacturing industry made signs of rapid development. Although Bengal must be credited with the first cotton mill—opened about the year 1818—it was not till the second half of the 19th century that the introduction of power spinning and weaving made any progress. In Bombay the first mill was established in 1851. By 1879-80 (the first year for which

¹ The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, 42 Geo III, p. 73.

² An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, 41 and 42 Vict., c. 16.

complete authentic official records are available), there were 58 cotton spinning and weaving mills in India with an aggregate of 13,307 looms and 1,470,830 spindles, and a daily average employment of 39,537 persons. Meantime the other great textile industry of jute manufacture had also been making rapid advances in Bengal. The first jute mill was started in 1855, the first power loom being introduced in 1859. Though at first progress was slow, by the year 1879-80, 22 jute mills existed in India with 4,946 looms and 70,840 spindles, and employing an average of 27,494 persons daily. It was the growth of the cotton industry in Bombay, however, which at first chiefly attracted attention.

The period of this early industrial expansion in India was a time in the United Kingdom when interest in the whole question of factory legislation was considerable. In the early part of 1873 Dr. Bridges and Mr. Holmes conducted an enquiry at the instance of the Local Government Board into the health of women, children and young persons engaged in textile manufacture. The last Act dealing with this matter was that of 1847 and they recommended a review of the situation, considering 10½ hours of "monotonous, unceasing labour," even under favourable conditions as too long to be consistent with the health of young persons between 13 and 18 years of age and of women generally. They urged, in consequence, a reduction of the working week from 60 to 54 hours. The authors of "A History of Factory Legislation" in reference to the work of this Commission point out: "Increased sympathy with industrial conditions is undoubtedly a sign of the times, whether we regard it as indicating a higher moral tone or a tendency to slackness and effeminacy, and it is interesting to note that these Commissioners went so far as to consider the point of the extreme monotony of factory work."³ In 1874, under the

³ "A History of Factory Legislation"—Hutchins and Harrison, p. 174.

Conservative Government which came into power in that year was passed the Act thus entitled—"An Act to make Better Provision for Improving the Health of Women, Young Persons, and Children employed in Manufactures, and the Education of such Children, and otherwise to improve the Factory Acts."⁴ As we have noticed the Factory Acts did not deal with industry as a whole. Legislation had been gradually extending from industry to industry and as a result certain elements of inequality and unnecessary complexity existed in the body of the Factory Laws. In consequence of the realisation of this in 1876 a Commission was appointed to consider the consolidation of these factory and workshop laws. The result was the Act of 1878, referred to above. This Act stood till 1901 when the Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act⁵ was passed.

During this time of interest in factory legislation Mr. Redgrave, H. M. Inspector of Factories, had drawn attention in one of his reports to the industrial situation in India. "We see," he wrote, "a cotton industry springing up in India, extending with rapid strides, and it behoves us to enquire whether that industry is carried on upon the old lines of the cotton manufacture here, and if it is so carried on, as is the common report, by factories working fourteen hours a day, it is well that the Legislature should step in while the industry is, so to speak, in its infancy and by wise and moderate regulations stop the growth of habits of long hours and of the employment of child labour." After quoting statistics showing the progress of the industry he continued, "It is clear that this is a progressive industry and looking to what factory legislation has achieved in this country, may we not hope that the native workers of India may be spared the ordeal which our cotton operators went

⁴ 37 and 38 Viet., c. 44.

⁵ Edw. VII, c. 22.

through in former days and that they may be permitted to enjoy the blessings of moderate labour, of ample time for rest and meals and of protection to children of tender years."

As early as April 1874, the attention of the Secretary of State for India was directed by a question asked in the House of Commons, to the dangers which might arise from the ill-treatment of little children in the growing cotton industry of India. In the same month the Secretary of State pointed out to the Government of Bombay the need of enquiry and probably of legislation. Nothing, however, was done till another question in the House of Commons led the Secretary of State to direct the Government of Bombay to undertake an enquiry. On 23rd March, 1875, this Government appointed a Commission on the following terms :—

"His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint the following gentlemen to be a Commission to enquire into, and report on, the present condition and system of work in the factories in Bombay and its vicinity, with a view to determining whether any legislation is necessary for the regulation of the hours of labour, especially in the case of women, young persons, and children, for the protection of labourers against accidents, for the proper ventilation and sanitation of the factories, and generally for improving the condition of the work people employed." Hereafter follow the names of Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, Collector of Bombay, the President of the Commission, and of the six other members of the Commission.

It is interesting to note that while the report of this Commission was still under consideration the Earl of Shaftesbury gave public evidence of his interest in the question of factory legislation for India by raising the subject in the House of Lords on 30th July, 1875. Inspired by Mr. Redgrave's report and by what he had read in an article in the *Journal of the National Indian*

Association the noble Lord pressed the case for legislation. Naturally 'those interested in the textile mills of Lancashire began now to take great interest in this question and they became eager for what some certainly regarded as an equalisation of the conditions of competition. It was but natural, then, that at this stage as at future stages in the history of factory legislation in India the attitude of Lancashire should cause a certain body of opposition in India to crystallise round the belief that the new restriction and hampering of industry in India—as it was held to be—was being dictated by a jealous rival in trade. In view of this belief it is interesting to note one section of the Earl of Shaftesbury's speech :—

“ There is also a commercial view to this question. We must bear in mind that India has the raw material and cheap labour ; and if we allow the manufacturers there to work their operatives 16 or 17 hours and put them under no restrictions, we are giving them a very unfair advantage over the manufacturers of our own country, and we might be undersold, even in Manchester itself, by manufactured goods imported from the East.”

This point was, however, very neatly turned by the Marquess of Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, in his reply. While he was at one with the Earl of Shaftesbury in agreeing that the matter required urgent attention he could not agree that Indian opinion was altogether with them. He said : “ There may be some persons who see the thing in the light in which we see it ; but generally this proposal to limit the hours of factory labour is looked upon as a great conspiracy for the purpose of promoting the interests of Manchester manufacturers. There is no subject more commonly discussed, and writers in the native journals dwell on the wickedness of the English who are trying to stifle native manufactures in India under the guise of philanthropy. I am, therefore, glad that my noble friend is coming forward in this matter,

for his philanthropy is, at all events, above suspicion; he cannot be suspected of joining in the dark conspiracy and trying to stifle the infant manufactories of India in the interests of Manchester. I hope that his well-known efforts on behalf of the factory operatives of his own country will show that he is actuated by none but philanthropic motives in desiring that the Government shall take the same measures for the protection of the women and children, the factory operatives of India."

While the investigations of the Bombay Commission of 1875 revealed the conditions of factory labour as not being the best desirable, only a minority of two favoured some simple legislative enactment. Section 9 of the report of the Commission which really stands as the opinion of this minority indicates the points to be noted and provided for in any Act—

1. That the machinery should be protected.
2. That children should not be employed under eight years of age.
3. That children from eight to fourteen years should not work more than eight hours daily.
4. That the hours of labour should not exceed twelve hours a day, which should include one hour of rest, which could be given either at one time, or at different times during the day, as found to be most convenient.
5. That all factories should be closed one day in seven, the day of closing being left to be fixed as the owners and operatives may wish. Other holidays in the year may be given at the option of the owners and operatives.
6. That good drinking water should be provided in every factory.

In a point of caution the Commission were unanimous in their opinion "that any Imperial Act that may be passed should not interfere more than is absolutely necessary with the working of factories, for these

must be considered as highly important, both politically and financially, and of great benefit to the country generally, and they require encouragement of every description.”⁶

The results of this, India's first Factory Commission, can hardly be said to have been singularly conclusive. But the results are but a reflex of the variation in the evidence. There was undoubtedly quite a strong feeling that legislation might be instrumental in checking the progress of an industry which was growing rapidly. Perhaps it is also true that the enquiry revealed a condition of things much more satisfactory than might have been anticipated by anyone who relied solely on information supplied in the rather alarming statements which found a certain circulation prior to this date. Nevertheless in this enquiry, and in the supplementary enquiries conducted in the Autumn of 1875 in the Collectorates of Surat and of Broach, sufficient evidence was adduced to make clear that with the growth of industry in India regulation was becoming necessary. In this matter India inherited the experience of the United Kingdom and it was now her time to follow the lead which had been given.

Following on the report of the Bombay Commission the question of the need for factory legislation was much discussed. It came to a head when, on 7th November, 1879, a Factories Bill was introduced in the Council of the Governor-General of India. It was indicated that the Government had come to the conclusion that the legislation to be undertaken should be restricted to the following points :—

1. The determination of the age at which children may be employed.
2. The limitation of the hours of labour for children and young persons.

⁶ Report of Bombay Factory Commission, 1875, p. 3, s. 10.

3. The prohibition of the employment of children and young persons in certain dangerous work.
4. The fencing of dangerous machinery.
5. The reporting of accidents.
6. The appointment of Government Inspectors.

“The present Bill,” runs the “Statement of Objects and Reasons,” referring to the points just noted, “has been prepared on these lines and will apply only to those parts of British India to which it may be extended by the Local Governments with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council.”⁷

This Factories Bill was introduced in the Council of the Governor-General by the Hon'ble Mr. Colvin, who moved that it be referred to a Select Committee for further consideration. This action was suggested and adopted because it was felt that on certain points fuller information was required. It can be seen, for one thing, from the clause of the statement of reasons quoted above that the original intention was to make the Act permissive in nature. Local Governments were to be left to take action upon it. In fact the only point that was directly applicable to the whole of British India was that “This Act may be called ‘The Factories Act, 1880.’” As we shall see the Act, as finally passed, was a positive enactment for the whole of British India.

The definition of “Factory” in the Draft Bill was inadequate and sufficient consideration had not been given to the determination of the age below which persons should be defined as children and young persons and of the age under which the employment of children should be prohibited. It was accordingly decided to circularise Local Governments with regard to their opinions on these questions and to appoint the Select Committee. In closing the discussion in the Council Mr. Colvin emphasised what

he regarded as the two main purposes of such legislation as they might undertake—

1. That of affording security of life and limb from accident.
2. That of protecting children and young persons, who had not attained to an age at which they would be considered free agents, from being overworked.

The references made by the Government of India to the Local Governments and the independent enquiries of the Select Committee appointed by the Council opened up the question of legislation once more. The Select Committee took its work in hand at once and at the session of the Council of the Governor-General on 2nd March, 1880, it presented its Report along with the Draft Bill embodying the amendments and alteration they suggested.⁸ One important change was with regard to the general nature of the Bill. Formerly it was of a permissive character. The amendment made it applicable throughout British India. In Bombay especially it was felt that a permissive Act would be in a sense unfair and a considerable amount of feeling was raised against the original Draft Bill. The Bombay Millowners' Association thus expressed their support of the amendment : "The Bill as originally proposed would have been a grave injustice to the Bombay factories which would have been placed under a serious, if not ruinous, disability in their competition with other places in India, into which it was apparently the intention of the Local Governments not to introduce the proposed law. The views of the Select Committee of the Council of the Governor-General therefore, on this point, have the entire approval of the Association." Other bodies argued similarly and a strong case was made out for a positive enactment. The Hon'ble Maharajah Jotindra Mohan Tagore, a member of the Select Committee, voiced the feelings of a

⁸ *Gazette of India*, Part V, 1880, p. 127 *et seq.*

minority in objecting to the alteration when in the debate on the Report he urged that any intervention between labour and capital in a country where manufacturing industry was in its infancy was not at all desirable.

The Bill as presented by the Select Committee gave a more adequate definition of a factory and provided for the extension of its terms to factories belonging to the Crown. The original Bill made a distinction between children (*i.e.*, under 12 years of age) and “ young persons ” (*i.e.*, persons between the ages of 12 and 16). The former were not to be employed more than 6 hours, the latter not more than 8 hours a day. The Select Committee as a result of enquiry and deliberation abolished this distinction and the Bill brought forward by it dealt with one class—*viz.*, children or persons under the age of 14 years. The minimum age of employment was to be 8 years and the maximum daily employment for such children 9 hours. The Bill required that they should have four holidays in the month. Further points of amendment referred to the rules for fencing machinery, which were brought more into conformity with the English law, and the empowering of Local Governments to require the occupier of a factory to keep up for the information of the Inspector registers of the children employed in such a factory.

When the Bill and the Report were brought before the Council of the Governor-General on 9th April, 1881, they were favourably received, but certain amendments proposed were embodied in the Act as finally passed. In the definition of a factory an addition was made whereby indigo factories and factories on tea or coffee plantations were exempted from the provisions of the Act. Exception was taken to the appointment of special officers as Inspectors and on the motion of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal Section 3 of the Bill was amended so as to leave the appointment of such special officers at the discretion of the Local Government. The rule was, of course, that where no such

special officer was appointed the Magistrate of the district should, in virtue of his office, be Inspector. The most important amendment was with regard to the age at which children might be employed. As we have seen, the Select Committee decided to fix the minimum age of employment at 8 years and the maximum age of employment at 14 years. This was amended by the Council so that in the Act the minimum age was 7 years and the maximum 12 years. It is interesting to anticipate the further development in factory legislation by noting that the Act of 1881 as amended by the Indian Factories Act of 1891⁹ revised these ages once more so that the minimum stood at 9 years, the maximum at 14 years. No change in this respect was made by the Indian Factories Act of 1911.¹⁰ This amendment to the Bill was accepted by the Government of India with some diffidence, and in the letter in which the Hon'ble Mr. Grant, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, circularised Local Governments in May, 1881, drawing their attention to the Factories Act he stated :—

“It must be borne in mind that although many factories are managed on enlightened and liberal principles, yet the enquiries of the Bombay Commission of 1875 did undoubtedly disclose the existence in many places of grave defects in factory management ; and it was to prevent the possibility of such abuses that the present law was enacted. In consideration of the important interests involved and in deference to the opinions of many of the Local Governments and public bodies and associations consulted, the restrictions which were at first thought necessary have been very materially relaxed. In one respect, indeed, *viz.*, in the reduction to seven years of the minimum age at which a child may be employed, the Governor-General in Council does not yet feel sure that relaxation may not

⁹ Act XI of 1891.

¹⁰ Act XII of 1911.

have been carried too far. He has assented to the experimental adoption of the existing limit on the grounds that children of seven years are at present largely employed in factories without apparent injury to them; and that several Local Governments thought the limit of eight years as fixed in the Bill too high. But he considers that the working of this provision in the law will need to be carefully watched; and that it cannot be maintained unless it is found beyond doubt to provide an adequate measure of protection to children of tender years."

This Act of 1881, then, dealt with powers of inspection in the hands of Local Governments, the regulation of the employment of children, the fencing of machinery, the duty of notifying occupation of a factory and accidents to employees, and the powers of Local Governments to make rules for carrying out the provisions of the Act. It did not attempt to regulate adult labour, male or female. It is further interesting to note that what forms so important a chapter in the latest Act—*viz.*, that dealing with provisions for the protection and advancement of health and safety—found no place in the Act of 1881. The question was considered by the Select Committee and in Madras and Bombay opinions were expressed before it in favour of legislating with regard to ventilation and sanitation. It was decided, however, not to add anything on these subjects to the Bill and the feeling seems to have been that they could be dealt with better by local legislation.

The Bill as amended by the Council was passed and received the assent of the Viceroy and was almost immediately promulgated as the Indian Factories Act, 1881 (Act XV of 1881), being applicable to the whole of British India and to come into force on the first day of July, 1881. Reference has been made above to a circular of suggestions with regard to the administration of the Act which was sent to Local Governments with the Act. In this special attention

was drawn to the fact that except in so far as it provided for the fencing of machinery and notice of accidents, the Act did not impose any obligation on millowners for the protection of adults. The scope of the law was thus recognised as limited.

“In framing it,” wrote the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, “the most careful regard has been paid to the representations of the millowners and commercial and other associations which have memorialised the Government of India on the subject of factory legislation. Indeed, consistently with the objects in view, it would have been scarcely possible to frame a more moderate measure ; and the Governor-General in Council believes that the uneasiness which is still felt in some quarters regarding its possible effects on the manufacturing industries, is caused not so much by objection to the protection of children and to the fencing of machinery, as by the fear that the provisions designed for these purposes may be injudiciously worked to the detriment of legitimate operations. Such apprehensions are not altogether unnatural ; for there is always a risk that, in the absence of suitable precautions, administrative zeal in enforcing a law may overstep due limits and prove injurious to the conduct of commercial enterprise. Similar difficulties, however, have been satisfactorily surmounted in England ; and having regard to the great importance of providing for the people of this country fresh outlets for surplus labour and of avoiding all unnecessary restraints upon industrial employment, the Governor-General in Council desires to impress upon all Local Governments the necessity of regulating the machinery of inspection and of selecting the inspecting agency in such a manner as to prevent all reasonable cause of complaint. The Government of India attach great importance to the choice of Inspectors, who, while they will take care that the provisions of the Act are honestly and thoroughly carried

out, will discharge their duties in the most conciliatory manner.”

Thus the first Indian Factories Act, imposing the minimum restraint on industry, was launched in a commendable spirit of conciliation. The great thing was that the policy of legal regulation had been entered upon. The Act of 1881 was inadequate and as industry in India developed its insufficiency only became the more apparent. But it was an important starting point. The Act of 1891 and that of 1911, which has taken the place of that of 1891, have worked out to fuller conclusions the principles inherent in the first Act and have brought factory legislation in India closely into line with similar legislation in the United Kingdom.

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BENGAL JAILS IN EARLY DAYS.

BY JOHN MULVANY.

THE introduction of imprisonment, as a punishment, into Bengal, was as abrupt as the transition from Muhammadan to British-Indian law was gradual. Within the precincts of Calcutta, the British had, indeed, administered English law from very early times, and the Ambassador's House Gaol, in Lal Bazar, dating from 1733, the Hurrin Barec House of Correction, and their successors on the Maidan, testify to the inclusion of imprisonment among their penal methods. These jails, however, were never under the jurisdiction of the Local Government, and were not distinctively known as "Company's" Jails. Their interesting history therefore does not concern us here.

In 1772, the Company, acting, in the first instance, as agents of the Mughal Emperor, assumed the Dewani of Bengal, but the administration of criminal justice remained vested in the deputy of the Nawab. And it was not till 1790, that the Company decided, with "a view to insure a prompt and impartial administration of the criminal law . . . to accept the superintendence of the administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces."

Sir William Hunter tells us that "the criminal law of the Muhammadans, which prevailed largely in India prior to British rule, is characterised by the cruel nature of its penalties. The Koranic law punishes adultery with death by stoning, highway robbery accompanied by murder, with death by the sword or crucifixion, simple highway

robbery with loss of hands and feet, theft with amputation of the right hand," and so on. Impalement, mutilation and severe flogging are doubtless cruel and barbaric forms of chastisement. To modern ideas they are horrible in the extreme. But it is not a little surprising to find that the reason and humanity of our forefathers were outraged by the infliction of such punishments which, however cruel, had at least the humane element of finality, and which compared quite favourably with the awful severity of the English Penal Code of the times. "A reference to various Acts of Parliament in force in 1777, and to Howard's work on prisons, shows that the penal and prison punishments then inflicted were of the most severe and cruel character. Felons were burnt in the hand, to fix on them a lasting mark of infamy and disgrace. Transports were sold into bondage to the American planters, for the terms of their sentences, lesser criminals, during their imprisonment, were publicly whipped monthly at the market place and in market hours, prisoners of every class (except successful criminals who could purchase indulgences and exemptions) were subjected to the severest labour, and privations. At the mere will of the gaoler they were chained and fettered, lodged in dark and damp dungeons, and underground cells, and exposed to disease and death from the gaol distemper, and from starvation by hunger and by cold." (*Report of Select Committee, 1850.*)

It is true that Howard's revelations and America's sudden stoppage of transportation had focussed attention on the Prison Problem, but the direction of "reform" had been whole-heartedly towards increased severity. Capital punishments were multiplied for trivial offences until juries, rough and brutal though they were, refused to convict.

Bengal Jails to which dates can be assigned.

Year	Jail.	COST.	CAPACITY.			
		Rs.	Criminal.	Civil.	Total.	
1790	Dacca House of Correction	9,471	157		157	(1815-1824)*
1792	Midnapore	1,12,167	1,582	125	1,707	(1811)*
1792	Tipperah	33,481	1,000	70	1,070	
1795	Bhaugulpore	75,778	800	50	850	
1797	Rungpore	70,000	1,200	25	1,225	
1797	Burdwan	1,05,680	1,600	200	1,800	(1800)*
1798	Dacca Gaol	78,459	800	30	830	(1815)*
1808	Nuddea	57,700	1,200	60	1,260	
1808	Barrasett	12,185	500	40	540	Old Cadet Bk.
1809	Bancoorah, formerly Jungle Mehals	8,627				
1810	Allipore Gaol	1,00,397	2,000		2,000	Civil Gaol.
1810	Ditto Hospital	27,599				Now Juvenile Jail.
1818	Shahabad	20,600	700	100	800	
1818	Backergunge	56,460	1,000		1,000	
1819	Beerbhoom	60,100	500	80	580	
1822	Buggoorah	453	283	30	313	Burnt 1853
1822	Jessore	30,000	1,000	75	1,075	
1823	Sarun	16,392	900	100	1,000	
1823	Bancoorah	30,125	600	40	640	(1809)*
1825	Hooghly	78,047	630	90	720	
1825	Purneah	60,000	700	100	800	
1827	Dinagopore	82,707	1,200	50	1,250	
1827	Furreedpore	49,815	515	90	605	
1828	Chittagong	60,000	500	60	560	
1829	Sylhet	69,600	825	50	875	
1829	Balasore	20,700	150	20	170	(1841)*
1831	Rajshahye	1,00,291	1,000	100	1,100	
1835	Lahardangah	?	350	15	365	
1835	Maunbhoom	500	250		250	
1838	Chumparun	8,854	373		373	
1842	Chira Punji	959	184		184	
1844	Darjeeling	1,200	47		47	
1850	Patna	22,000	636		636	
1850	Tirhoot	15,582	396		396	

The above data are taken, for the most part, from the tabular statement attached to para. 8 of the Report of the Prison Discipline Committee of 1838. The dates, in all cases, are taken from the Jail Annual Reports. They do not in every case correspond with the dates of building. In some they are dates of purchase, and in some dates of rebuilding. Some jails were built piecemeal and to them several dates can be assigned. As a rule the earliest date is taken.

Pick-pockets were hanged till 1808. Women were publicly flogged until 1817, and the pillory was not abolished till 1837. And though it cannot be doubted that, in putting an end to Muhammadan punishments, the British were actuated solely by motives of humanity, it is probable that the punishments they substituted were equally, if not more,

* Altered or added to.

distasteful to the subject races. In 1790 impalement was replaced by imprisonment with hard labour. In 1793 mutilation was abolished, and by 1797 Indian penal methods included imprisonment, with and without hard labour, flogging of both males and females, banishment, transportation and hanging supplemented by gibbeting in chains. In addition, convicts sentenced to imprisonment for life were branded on the forehead by the process termed "*Goodna*," i.e., tattooing, and the horrible practice of "public exposure" which had been abandoned, seven years previously, by Pennsylvania, as a total failure, was added to the armoury of the judiciary.

But in introducing these new punishments into Bengal, the Home authorities had overlooked the elementary fact that prisons—the *sine quâ non* of imprisonment—were entirely lacking. And though, in the first instance, the non-existence of a prison population may have relieved the local authorities of immediate embarrassment, the inevitable crisis was not far distant. Makeshifts had to be resorted to and "any building in the vicinity of the Court of Justice, which could conveniently be hired or appropriated for the purpose," was adapted to the new *régime*. Meanwhile construction was pushed on as funds permitted. In some places the temporary buildings were enlarged and made permanent. In others entirely new jails were erected at a great expense, on plans separating the debtors from criminals, and prisoners under sentence from those detained for examination or for further evidence. In these prisons also, the women were kept apart from the men, and every attention was paid to the health and suitable accommodation of the prisoners. The European Surgeon of the station was required to afford his medical aid with that of a native physician acting under him, and to ensure a strict observance of the rules established for these purposes, a report was required by the Nizamut Adawlut from the judge of circuit, of his having visited the prison in

person, and of the state in which he found it. (See 5th Report, 1812.)

From the accompanying table it would appear that the first jail, with any pretensions to permanency, was the Dacca House of Correction, the precursor of the present central jail. The next permanent jail was probably that of Midnapore, where advantage was taken of the then existing Mahratta Fort. This jail was abandoned in 1872 when the present central jail was opened. The Monghyr jail was similarly adapted, at some uncertain date, from the old Moghul Fort. Jails of large size followed rapidly at Tipperah, Bhagalpore, Rungpore and Burdwan. The Russapuglah or jail of the 24-Pergannahs, now the Russa Distillery, was probably amongst the first to be built. But by the beginning of the 19th century, there could have been permanent accommodation for barely 10,000 prisoners or less than one-third of the actual requirements.

It was, doubtless, this dearth of accommodation which influenced the Government to have recourse, in 1797, to transportation, though the resources of Bencoolen, in Sumatra, the only existing penal settlement, were limited in the extreme. Bencoolen, indeed, barely sufficed for the needs of the Supreme Court, which had deported prisoners since 1787, and it is not surprising to find that, in 1803, transporation beyond the sea by the Company's courts was restricted to convicts sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Shortly afterwards, it was decided to build a large jail with accommodation for some 2,000 prisoners, and to abolish altogether the punishment of transportation. In 1811 the Alipore (now the Presidency) Jail was opened and "persons convicted of any of the crimes, which . . . would have subjected them to imprisonment and transportation beyond sea for life, (were) adjudged to suffer imprisonment in the jail erected at Allipore, in the vicinity of Calcutta, under the custody of such persons as Government may from time to time deem proper to invest with the

charge of that jail." (Regulation XIV. 1811.) At the same time it was provided that the prisoners would on no account be permitted to quit the area attached to the jail, for the purpose of being employed on the public roads, except in cases in which sickness or accidents might require that they should be taken to the hospital (now the Juvenile Jail) attached to the jail, and they should be uniformly relodged within the jail whenever their health might admit. When in the jail they were to be employed "in the manufacture of articles for which a constant demand may exist at the presidency, or in such labour as the Superintendent may direct." In passing it may be noted that this was the first instance of the term "Superintendent" being applied to the Governor of an Indian jail, a term which, however, did not come into general use until over sixty years afterwards. The official designation was "The officer in charge," and this is still used by the High Court.

Meanwhile another large jail was built at Nuddea, and the old Cadet Barrack at Baraset was converted. But the additional accommodation did not keep pace with the increasing criminal population, and in 1813 transportation was finally revived. But though new jails continued to be built, and though the number of penal settlements was increased, by Mauritius in 1816, Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, in 1825, and shortly afterwards by Mergui in Tenasserim, the question of accommodation remained acute until the early seventies brought with them the modern central jails. And the large influx of convicted mutineers, in 1857, caused a crisis which resulted in the adoption of Port Blair as a supplementary penal settlement.

In view of the embarrassing situation which arose from the sudden introduction of imprisonment into Bengal, which was duplicated in the other two presidencies, and which must certainly have given rise to a good deal of correspondence between India and London, it is more

than remarkable that, when an exactly parallel situation arose in 1852, and the Board of Administration asked for accommodation for 10,000 prisoners, in the newly-annexed Punjab, the Court of Directors demurred at the expense and desired to be informed "of the manner in which culprits have heretofore been imprisoned or otherwise in the Punjab, and whether the same measures are no longer in any degree available." The Board replied that "imprisonment (except in dungeons or at the bottoms of dry wells for political offences) is not a native punishment. Debtors, etc., used to be chained to gateways to pick up their food from charitable passers-by. Probably there were not a hundred men in confinement during Runjeet Singh's reign. The common punishment was to cut off the noses of thieves, to hamstring burglars, and to take off the hand, sometimes both hands, of dacoits. Under the Durbar there were sometimes 50 or 60 thieves, debtors and murderers at one time crowded into a single unventilated room in the old *kotwalee* in the city. Some of these, by the help of bribes, or by the influence of their partisans, might get enlisted in the army, or even obtain rank in it. Such was often the case in Runjeet Singh's time. A dry well is now shown at Umritsar, where prisoners were confined, and every Sirdar and Jageerdar chained up at will his own defaulter, or took his own measures to extort or extract his dues from him." This explanation appears to have been accepted. (Howell's Note on Jails, 1868.)

In the Punjab, of course, the Government were fortified by an experience—such as it was—of sixty years, and by the knowledge that they had the organisation of the other provinces—crude and unreliable though it was—to draw upon. But in 1790, there was no model on which to build, save the unsatisfactory Calcutta jails; no staffs, however ill-trained, to recruit from, and, in all probability, not even a passing knowledge of the principles of prison-discipline then obtaining in England. It is only those who

are familiar with the complexity of present-day jail administration, who can realise the hopeless nature of the task which confronted the prison builders of early Bengal. Their very ignorance alone saved the situation, backed, as it was, by the prevailing British sentiment of the day towards the rights of the proletariat. And their estimates of their requirements, influenced inevitably by the dictates of economy, displayed very little appreciation of the lofty sentiments which had inspired their undertaking. The buildings they designed were of the cheapest and most flimsy description, and so insecure as to necessitate the stringing of the prisoners at night to a massive iron chain which, not only limited their movements, but involved a loathsome pollution of the floors and atmosphere. As a further precaution against escape, the batten doors and shutters of the wards were kept closed at night, thus hermetically sealing the unlighted box whose inmates were allowed but 20 square feet of sleeping space. The cubic space was seldom above 500 feet per prisoner, and, in 1848, it was recorded that not even 300 feet was available. All convicted prisoners were heavily ironed with fetters which, in some cases, weighed as much as 14 lbs., and unconvicted prisoners were secured in ropes or stocks. (Both foot and hand stocks were in use in Bombay, as a jail punishment, as recently as 1889.)

Each inmate was allowed two *dhotis* and two *chadars*, and, in winter, one coarse blanket. In some jails a piece of coarse grass mat was allowed "on which to sleep." There was no organised system of messing. Each convict was granted a daily allowance of from two to three pice, which was expended on such luxuries and eatables as were purveyed by the *moody*, or jail shopkeeper, who conducted his business under the protection of a "sufficient guard." The admission of intoxicating liquors and drugs was forbidden in 1805, but tobacco and condiments were available. Debtors received one anna per diem, and were

thus more happily circumstanced than their brothers in England who were entirely dependent on the alms of the charitable. But miserable though this allowance may appear to us, it was yet subject to reduction, as a jail punishment, "in such a degree as is consistent with his support, until he performs the work required from him." (Regulation XIV, 1816.) "His own subsistence too," says Dr. Hutchinson, in 1835, "there is great reason to believe, is not the sole object, on which the convict expends the Government allowance. He has his tobacco and the condiments for his food to purchase, and not unlikely, everyone connected with him to bribe, from the *Burkundaux*, or police officer, to the *darogah*, or keeper of the jail; or he may even divert a trifle of his scanty pittance to the support of his wife and children, but this, I think, it fairly may be presumed is all but impossible." Yet he speaks of a belief that some denied themselves the necessities of life "for the sake of hoarding their daily pecuniary allowance."

The daily routine was very different from what it is now. At sunrise or earlier the convicts were taken out of the jail and marched, sometimes for miles, to their work on the roads. Employment in agriculture or horticulture of any kind was forbidden, especially the latter which "must be an agreeable occupation to many convicts, and by none can be felt as a severe punishment." At noon there was generally a short intermission for rest and the mid-day repast of parched or raw gram or rice. At four o'clock work stopped for the day, and the prisoners returned to the jail, where, after the usual muster, each man purchased and prepared his one meal of the day. Sometimes the scene of labour was too far from the jail to permit of any return to it. Then the prisoners, without distinction, were accommodated in huts or tents, and were secured at sunset with a chain passing through the ring of the fetters and fastened outside with a padlock.

Not more than ten, or, at the most, twenty convicts were secured to the same chain which was passed through the fetters while they were standing, in such a manner as not to prevent their moving with facility on an alarm of fire.

Of intra-mural employment there was none, except at Alipore, where the inmates never left the jail precincts unless they volunteered for transportation. The labour there was described in 1838 as "very light, being merely spinning twine from flax, which is afterwards worked up into sackcloth for what are called gunny bags. It does not generally occupy the most indolent till mid-day, and it does not occupy the others nearly so long."

There was, of course, no jail department in any sense of the word; none, certainly until the appointment of the first Inspector of Jails in 1853. The British model could offer nothing better than the old, bad system which made the jail an adjunct and responsibility of the local court, controlled by the magistrate and subject to the judges of circuit who were required to report, after each jail delivery, on the state of the jail and the treatment and employment of the prisoners, and other matters that they might deem deserving the notice of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut.

In 1844, (Act XVIII), the responsibilities of the Nizamut Adawlut, in the supervising and management of jails, were transferred to the local Government. But it was not till 1857 that the sessions judges were largely shorn of their power, and their duties "limited to those of visitors." General principles of administration were prescribed by the Government in periodic Regulations, and in 1828, a "compilation" of jail rules was printed at the Baptist Mission Press, presumably under the authority of the Nizamut Adawlut. But no copy of this book appears to be extant. Each magistrate was directed to prescribe a set of written rules for the internal economy of his jail, but in matters of principle he was guided by the several

regulations, consultations and circular orders which were issued from time to time.

Though officially styled the "Officer in charge" of the jail, the magistrate, in no way, corresponded with the superintendent of to-day. His general duties were so multitudinous and varied that any attempt at personal management would have been impossible. In practice the *darogah* or jailer was all powerful, and as he was as miserably underpaid in proportion as was his lax and venal staff, the road was open to abuses and illegalities of every kind. Hunter tells us that the early Indian jail system, like its English prototype, was insanitary, demoralizing, and non-deterrent, and this was much the view of the Committee of 1838, who, however, exonerated the Government from any charge of neglect.

The credit of being the first prison reformer in India, is quite undeservedly given to Lord Macaulay, who was a member of the Indian Law Commission from 1835 to 1838. It is true that the Committee of Prison Discipline—the first great inquiry into Indian prison matters—was the immediate outcome of his famous Minute of 14th December 1835. But it is equally true, and much more significant, that the existing scandals had been the subject of a most serious indictment, in a book entitled "Observations on the General and Medical Management of Indian Jails, and on the treatment of some of the Principal Diseases which infest them," by Surgeon James Hutchinson, Secretary to the Medical Board. This work, which was printed at the Bengal Military Orphan Press, and sold by Messrs. William Thacker and Co., was published in June 1835, or six months before Macaulay wrote his Minute. Prior to this, the "great mortality which prevailed among the convicts under confinement in the various jails throughout the country, but more particularly in those situated in the province of Bengal," had engaged the attention of the Medical Board, who, in a circular (No. 598, dated 8th December

1833), to the Superintending Surgeons, had called for explanations from the Medical staffs, of the great mortality which in some instances averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., throughout a division, in one quarter. The circular dealt with employment, diet, clothing, housing, cubic space and ventilation and called for mortality statistics of the previous five years. The Board, finally, relied on the Superintending Surgeons to favour them with the result of their experience, "on a subject so interesting to every feeling of humanity, and so imperatively calling for investigation." The circular was signed, "James Hutchinson, Secretary, Medical Board."

On 17th February 1834, Government issued their celebrated Regulation II abolishing corporal punishment, except for the maintenance of jail discipline; substituting fines in certain cases for sentences of labour, and empowering the Governor-General "to issue such orders as he may, from time to time, deem necessary, for the introduction of a system of discipline into the jails calculated both to reform the convicts and to render their imprisonment efficacious, as an example to deter others from the commission of crime."

To what extent Government were influenced by the action of the Medical Board, it is impossible to say. But there can be no doubt that the unsatisfactory state of the jails had obtained recognition, and the high ideals and lofty sentiments of this truly remarkable document testify to the humanity and honesty of purpose of the Executive. Its preamble repays perusal: "Whereas Corporal Punishment has not been found efficacious for the prevention of crime either by reformation or by example, and whereas it is always degrading to the individual, and by affixing marks of infamy which are often for ever indelible, prevents his return to an honest course of life, and whereas there is every reason to fear that it is in many cases injudiciously and unnecessarily inflicted, becoming a grievous and irremediable wrong; and whereas it is becoming

expedient that the British Government, as the paramount power in India, should present in its own system the principles of the most enlightened legislation, and should endeavour, by its example, to encourage the Native States to exchange their barbarous and cruel punishments of maiming, of torture, of loss of limb, for those of a more merciful and wise character, by which the individual may be reformed and the community saved from these brutalising exhibitions, and whereas it has been deemed expedient to authorise the substitution of a fine in lieu of labor, in certain minor offences, for which the Criminal Courts are empowered by existing Regulations to pass sentence of imprisonment with labour, either with or without irons, and whereas it has been deemed necessary to provide for the gradual introduction of a better system of prison discipline; the following Rules have been enacted to be in force from the date of their promulgation throughout the Territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William."

Six weeks later public attention was forcibly directed to the serious state of prison discipline by the brutal murder, at the Alipore Jail, of Mr. Thomas Richardson, the magistrate of the 24-Parganas and Superintendent of the Jail, on the 5th April 1834. For which crime five convicts were executed, in front of the shed where the murder was perpetrated, and nine others were transported for life.

In September 1834, Macaulay arrived in Calcutta.

Meanwhile Hutchinson had been collecting facts and collating the statistics received in response to his Circular of 1833. And in June, 1835, his book was published, "inscribed with every sentiment of respect, to The Honourable The Court of Directors of the East India Company." It was remarkable in every way. It was a most serious indictment of the Executive, by a Government servant, in active employ, and frankly based on information obtained by him, in his official capacity, and from official sources. It was written avowedly with the object of "awakening

attention to the subject (of jail management) and thus prove the means of alleviating the sufferings of an extensive and unfortunate class of persons," never fewer, at that time, than forty or fifty thousand. He was aware that there were some who considered that convicted criminals were unworthy of consideration and already too humanely treated. But even were they as criminal as they were represented to be, he felt "called upon by every sentiment of humanity to ameliorate their condition," and he did not hesitate to assert "that we have no right to inflict a single pang beyond that to which these unfortunate individuals have been sentenced." He condemned the lack of space, the insufficiency of air and the inadequacy of the clothing. He blamed the dietary arrangements and the system of bribery from the highest to the lowest. He compared the jails to "splendid sepulchres," and he spoke of the "very loathsome and offensive" state of the wards. He detailed the stringing of prisoners in a body, every night, to a heavy iron chain as "a measure of precaution, which, however necessary, cannot be otherwise than shocking to the feelings of humanity." And he doubted not "that the moment this meets the eye of authority, it will be the last opportunity which will offer of making a similar complaint." (Nevertheless the practice was only discontinued in "regularly built" jails in 1852.) He referred somewhat guardedly to the distressing mortality, instancing one jail where, during the year 1829, the death-rate had exceeded 27 per cent., saying "my object is neither to harrow up the feelings, nor to indulge in useless lamentations, but to endeavour to benefit the living." Particularly did he condemn the system of labour on the roads, of which he painted detailed and graphic pictures. In short, considering the time when it was written, and the peculiar circumstances of its issue, this book was in every way as remarkable as was Howard's work on "The State of Prisons in England and Wales," published 58 years previously.

What immediate results the explosion of this bomb may have had, coming as it did so soon after the tragedy at the Alipore jail, we can only conjecture. That it created a sensation is more than probable. That it focussed attention on the shortcomings of the jails is certain. And that it was the immediate cause of Macaulay's minute can hardly be doubted. But it is remarkable that neither the minute nor the report of the Committee which resulted from that minute, acknowledged in any way Hutchinson's disinterested services to humanity. Hutchinson had nothing to gain personally, and everything to lose, by his action. Only a very strong sense of duty could have impelled him to throw discretion to the winds and imperil his future prospects by thus discarding precedent and appealing to the court of public opinion. That he was justified in his facts, we now know. The great blot on the prison administration was not the utter lack of discipline, which was deplorable, but the appalling mortality, and it was on this that he, as a medical man, concentrated his attack. Had there been no Macaulay, and had Hutchinson been given a free hand, it is more than probable that he would have cleansed the Augean stables, or at least have initiated reforms which would have been attended with a fair measure of success. But he had attacked powerful interests, and in doing so had unforgiveably shamed the judiciary who, even more than the Government, were responsible for the jails. He forced their hands. Something had to be done, and something was done. On 14th December 1835, Macaulay wrote his minute and within three weeks the Committee on Prison Discipline was appointed.

The *personnel* of this Committee comprised the Chief Justice, two Members of Council, two Judges of the Supreme Court, four Law Commissioners, and five Members of the Bengal Civil Service—"fourteen public functionaries, the most conspicuous for rank and talent",—as

Hutchinson describes them. They deliberated for two years and submitted their Report on the 8th January 1838. How important the subject was considered, by the Government, to be, may be judged by the strength of this Committee. And therein lay its weakness. Its very strength was the secret of its failure, for fail it did, either to suggest satisfactory solutions for the difficult problems it had to consider, or even to lay bare the abuses from which those problems sprung. It cannot be too strongly insisted, that the deplorable state of the jails which existed and continued to exist for another half century was the inevitable fruit of the well-intentioned changes of 1790. The problems for consideration were primarily medical and only secondarily disciplinary. They were, in fact, the indictments of Hutchinson—not the disclosures of the Alipore Jail murder. The remedy for one was the remedy for both, and that was the provision, in the first instance, of adequate accommodation, sufficient food and clothing and an elementary respect for the laws of sanitation. Unfortunately the Committee included among its members neither doctor nor engineer. Unfortunately too Hutchinson was regarded rather as a hostile witness than a friendly critic, and the major count of his indictment was held to be unproved and unprovable. They did, indeed, consider the several points that he had raised. They could not do otherwise. And the result was, as he claimed, “not to invalidate, but rather to confirm every statement made in the first edition of this work. In several instances they have adopted the sentiments and suggestions contained in it, and too seldom, I regret to say, have they acknowledged their obligation.” But they did not accord to his revelations the importance they deserved, and the main issues were largely obscured, by the prominence which they gave to the ethics of transportation and to labour on the roads. On the other hand they were at great pains to exonerate the Government from any sense of blame. “There is

(they said) no systematic carelessness to the circumstances of the prisoner, no niggardly disregard of his wants ; he is not left to starve of cold or hunger, or to live on the charity of individuals ; he is not left in filth, and stench, to sink under disease, without an attempt to cure him : he is not compelled to bribe his gaoler, in order to obtain the necessities which the law allows him. What was the second stage of prison reform seems to be nearly the present state of prison discipline in India." And they thought that the care and attention bestowed on the physical condition of the prisoners, and in the provision of food and clothing, "highly honourable to the Government of British India." Nevertheless they had no hesitation in saying that "the present system appears to us to be essentially such as the Government is imperatively required, by every consideration of justice and policy, thoroughly to reform."

Their remedy was the erection of great central jails or penitentiaries, in the middle of every six or eight districts, under the management of keepers, "honest, impartial, of good temper, sound judgment, coolness, energy and courage," who would take a lively interest in the important duties of their office, and for whom salaries of Company's rupees 300 a month might, perhaps, be necessary. In these large jails, solitary confinement, for two or three years, with work of a "dull wearisome, disgustful" nature might be allowed, after a short time, "as an indulgence." They stipulated, however, that industrial labour should be prohibited, since if prisoners were stimulated by the ordinary incitement of honest industry and were to derive pleasure from success, the result would certainly not be what was meant by a sentence of hard labour. The greatest criminals would become the most skilful workmen, and it would soon be discovered that going to jail would be the first step to fortune. For similar reasons they objected to convicts being employed as cooks—the work was so much lighter than the hard labour of others as to be a

contravention of the principles of punishment. Their ideal was "some dull, monotonous, wearisome, and uninteresting task, such as stepping on a tread-wheel, turning a capstan or hand-crank, pumping water, pounding bricks, grinding flour, or the like, in which there will be wanting even the enjoyment of knowing that a quicker release can be got by working the harder for a time." For they objected to rewards as diminishing severity. The strictest silence was to be enforced, both by day and by night, at work and at meals.

Labour on the roads they condemned absolutely, not only because of the "frightful mortality" connected with it, but principally because it was unequal and uncertain, and "incompatible with any improvement in prison discipline." It was, "without exception, the worst method of treatment that (had) ever been provided under the British Government," and it seemed to them "to unite in itself every evil of imprisonment under the worst system of discipline, or under no system of discipline." Moreover it was expensive and it involved that public exposure of criminals which had been so harmful in America.

But though they could not but admit the terrible mortality of the road-gangs, they appeared to be entirely unimpressed by Hutchinson's strictures on the death-rates of the jails, which formed the gravamen of his charges. Prisoners belonged to "the most short-lived of all classes . . . (moreover) there exist no known data from which to infer the mortality of the labouring classes in this country, and it is only with them that an useful comparison could be made": thus originating the argument which was to do yeoman's service in the cause of insanitation for another fifty years.

But the situation was saved. Hutchinson was discredited. India could fairly bear comparison with England, but—the system was such as demanded thorough reform. Hence their proposals for an entirely "new plan of

Prison-discipline," calculated to remedy not only "all the evils of the present system which can be remedied by partial improvement, but also (to) remedy . . . many excessive evils which . . . are inseparable from the present system, however modified." But they faltered where they firmly trod. "We are not ourselves anxious (they said) for the immediate introduction of so extensive a scheme universally, for we think that it would be imprudent, in the first instance, to try the effects of our plan otherwise than experimentally in a few neighbouring Gaols."

Whether it was that the Committee's quite unattractive scheme involved prohibitive expenditure, or whether it was that their evident want of confidence in their own proposals communicated itself to the Government, certain it is that nothing of any importance was done. By discrediting Hutchinson and focussing attention on discipline, the necessity of reform was translated from the high sphere of urgency to the lower plane of expediency, and what had started out as a question of pure humanity, became simply a matter of policy. Minor improvements were, indeed, effected: notably the substitution of rations for a money allowance. Structural alterations were made, in the jails, with a view to improved classification, and some attempt was made to check the practice of employing prisoners on the roads, especially in localities where mortality had been highest, but, in the absence of any whole-hearted scheme for increasing and improving the accommodation, these changes merely aggravated the abuses, which Hutchinson had inveighed against, by accentuating the overcrowding. And the last state of the Bengal jails had become worse than the first.

In 1845 Hutchinson renewed his attack, and issuing a second edition of his work, not only reiterated his charges but, as we have seen, accused the Committee of appropriating, without acknowledgment, certain of his suggestions. But his later effort was even more ineffectual

than his earlier one had been. The strongest Committee that ever sat in British India had sided against him. From their verdict there was no appeal. He had failed and, in failing, had sacrificed, not only himself but even the cause he fought for. The wheels of progress were stayed for another forty years. But it was a noble failure.

A worthy disciple of the great John Howard, Hutchinson's lot was cast in evil days, and though his courage was indomitable, he lacked the means and the opportunity, which alone had enabled his great prototype to achieve success. But if ever there was a man, imbued with the spirit of the true reformer, he was James Hutchinson, the John Howard of India. And if ever there was a failure that was more creditable than success, it was his.

Space does not permit us to review the years that followed. No real attempts at reform were made until the Committee of 1864 had unequivocally condemned the legacy of corruption they discussed. Overcrowding, bad ventilation, bad conservancy, bad drainage, insufficiency of clothing, sleeping on the ground, deficiency of personal cleanliness, bad water, exaction of labour from unfit persons, and insufficient medical inspection were among the causes which they found contributing to the "alarmingly high" mortality which was apparently on the increase, and in their recommendations for reform are to be found the germ of whatever is good in our present system of prison administration.

The credit of this Committee is given to Lord John Lawrence and, inasmuch as it was the outcome of his minute of the 3rd March 1864, the credit is not misplaced. But even as the unacknowledged figure of Hutchinson looms, from the depth of his oblivion, behind the Committee of 1836, so behind the Committee of 1864 stands another forgotten figure, clothed in the mantle of his predecessor and bearing, though more

uncompromisingly, the same accusing testimony. In 1860 Dr. Joseph Ewart of the Bengal Medical Service published through Messrs. Smith Elder and Co. "The Sanitary Condition and Discipline of Indian Jails" "to point out the various causes which produce the most appalling mortuary bills that are to be found among any class of human beings on the face of the civilised world and to draw attention to the serious shortcomings pervading the mode of discipline prevalent in the jails throughout India," which he designated "pest-houses of the most fatal description." The excessive sickness and mortality were demonstrably preventable, and the extreme mortality was proof positive of defective sanitation. In Bengal during the year 1853-54 the death-rate had been 72·5 per thousand, from which "it may be inferred that the period necessary for the entire annihilation of the criminal population" was about fourteen years. He recalled the accusations painted in such brilliant colours by Dr. James Hutchinson in 1835, and he charged "the neglected privy, the cess-pool, the stinking drain; in other words, liquid and solid human excretions in process of decomposition (as being) among the chief destroyers of the criminal population of Indian prisons."

It would be difficult to imagine a more scathing exposure of the evils which existed. Hutchinson's book was mild in comparison. But he had failed. Ewart left no loop-hole for failure and the recognition, which the evils he had so skilfully portrayed, were accorded by the Committee of 1864, was the measure of his success. Like Hutchinson he received no credit. Like him his personal interests were sacrificed on the altar of duty. They shared one common fate. He was not indeed discredited. He was simply ignored. Neither his name nor his work were quoted by the Committee who submitted their exhaustive and condemnatory report within five weeks from the date on which Lord Lawrence had signed his minute.

To what extent Ewart was influenced by Hutchinson, it is impossible to say. But that, in the face of Hutchinson's failure and Hutchinson's fate, Ewart should have decided to follow in his footsteps, proclaims a heroic virtue and a greatness of spirit that place him for all time in the front rank of those who have sacrificed all things in the cause of humanity. To these two men India owes a heavy debt—a debt which she has repaid by consigning them to oblivion.

JOHN MULVANY.

APPENDIX.

LORD MACAULAY'S FAMOUS MINUTE.

I hope and believe that I do not overstep the line of my official duties, when I venture to call the attention of the Council of India to the subject of prison discipline. That subject, though in strictness it may lie within the province of the executive Government, is yet most closely connected with the great work in which the Law Commission is now engaged.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the best Criminal Code can be of very little use to a community unless there be a good machinery for the infliction of punishment. Death is rarely inflicted in this country at present, and it must certainly be the wish of Government and of the Law Commission that it should be inflicted more rarely still. The practice of flogging has been abolished, and we should I am sure be most unwilling to revive it. The punishment of transportation is so expensive to say nothing of other objections that it can be employed only in a small number of cases. Imprisonment is the punishment to which we must chiefly trust. It will probably be resorted to in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred. It is therefore of the greatest importance to establish such regulations as shall make imprisonment a terror to wrong-doers, and

shall at the same time prevent it from being attended by any circumstances shocking to humanity. Unless this be done, the Code, whatever credit it may do to its authors in the opinion of European jurists, will be utterly useless to the people for whose benefit it is intended.

Whatever I hear about the Indian prisoners satisfies me that their discipline is very defective. We need not go far for proofs. The jail in our immediate neighbourhood is in a condition which reflects great dishonour to our Government. Hundreds of the worst and most desperate criminals are assembled there. They are all collected in one great body, they are therefore quite able, when their passions are inflamed, to overpower any resistance which those who are placed over them can oppose to their fury. It is only a few months since they murdered the Superintending Magistrate. At present no visitor can enter the gates without danger and this evil exists on the very spot at which the greatest quantity of European intelligence and power is concentrated at the seat of Government under the very eyes of the supreme authorities. It is universally known. It is a common topic of conversation. It might, unless I am greatly mistaken, be removed by very simple means and at a very light expense. When such is the state of the jail at the Presidency, we can hardly suppose that a good system is followed in the mofussil; and all that I can learn on the subject leads me to believe that the prisons of India generally require great improvement.

I do not imagine that in this country we can possibly establish a system of prison discipline so good as that which exists in some parts of the United States. We have not an unlimited command of European agency, and it is difficult to find good agents for such a purpose among our native subjects. Still I am satisfied that much may be done. In this town at least and at a few other places we might be able to establish a system not much inferior in efficiency to that which exists at New York and Philadelphia.

What I should suggest is that a Committee should be appointed for the purpose of collecting information as to the state of the Indian prisons, and of preparing an improved plan of prison discipline. In particular I should recommend that the Committee should be instructed to report on the state of the jail at Allypore and to suggest such reforms as may make that place a model for other prisons. Such a Committee will cost nothing to the public. Several distinguished servants of the Company and two of the judges of the Supreme Court have expressed to me their willingness to give all the assistance in their power. Mr. Shakespeare who feels strongly the importance of the subject is willing to be one of the members. If the Governor-General in Council should be disposed to accede to my proposition I would suggest that it would be desirable to appoint Mr. Shakespeare President of the Committee.

14th December 1835.

A LEGENDARY HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BY J. N. DAS GUPTA.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN 1844 came into the hands of the English-reading public a remarkable little volume of absorbing interest, entitled "Note on the historical results deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan." The volume is interesting from various points of view. In the first place, it is evidence of the real and living interest felt by many a large-hearted, broad-minded Englishman of culture—how different from the present-day murderous German *kultur*—in the study of India's past and of her relations with her neighbouring countries, even before the assumption of the direct government of this ancient land by the British Crown and even before India came to be an integral part of the present British Empire. The volume is further interesting as presenting a bird's-eye view of a romantic chapter in the story of historical research—an attempt to reconstruct a country's past with the help of materials largely supplied by numismatic studies and the examination and interpretation of long-lost inscriptions. But to many interested in the promotion of antiquarian research and historical studies, the volume is valuable as a memorial of the loving labours, of James Prinsep, Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and founder and editor of the Society's Journal published monthly in this city. The writer of the note—Henry Prinsep, brother of James Prinsep—while presenting his succinct account of the investigations into the past of Ariana and Bactria, regions in the neighbourhood of the north-western frontier land of India, takes us back to 1738 and to Bayer and his

celebrated Latin Treatise. Coming down to 1838 and partially accounting for the comparative indifference of latter-day historical students towards these investigations he observes:—

“ In 1838, while the British army was on its march to Afghanistan, the individual in India, who had done most to instigate enquiry, and to make public the results obtained, who brought to bear on each discovery a power of ingenious reasoning, acute comparison, and deep study, that made it tell as a step in advance, rewarding those who had contributed to bring it to light, and attracting new interest to the pursuit, was suddenly withdrawn from these favourite studies by an illness, which terminated in death. The journal of the Asiatic Society, established and conducted by Mr. James Prinsep at Calcutta, ceased after the year mentioned to be the inspiring organ to encourage and direct researches in this particular field. There wanted, when he was gone, the Promethean spark to kindle into light and life the dust and ashes dug out of these interesting ruins, and to extract language and sense from the rude characters found traced on the venerable remains and relics obtained from them.”

It may be noted in passing that the expedition here spoken of is of more than ordinary interest even from the purely antiquarian point of view, as it recalls to our mind the earlier commercial mission of Sir Alexander Burnes and the celebrated interview between British representatives and Runjeet Singh, as also the investigations of the European officers in the service of the ruler of the Punjab and Peshawar, among whom Generals Ventura, Alard and Court are pre-eminent for the zeal with which they had carried on their researches, these unreservedly placing the results of their labours at the disposal of interested scholars.

I have interpolated this somewhat lengthy preface, because I am anxious to invite attention to a spirited

protest which Henry Prinsep indites—a protest by the way implying a reproach which I feel the rising spirit of historical research in India will not long suffer to hold good. Says Henry Prinsep:—

“The information left us of the acts and expeditions of western kings in this quarter (Central and Western Asia), and even of Alexander himself, is exceedingly scanty and imperfect, and we seek in vain for any reason why it should be so. ‘The reading public of the nineteenth century, who wade through volumes of controversy upon single events of local history, and who study accuracy, and the minutiae of great men’s proceedings and motives, with a mawkish and tedious interest, may well wonder to find so little curiosity displayed by the ancients, not only as to what was passing in Aria and Bactria, but even regarding the expeditions of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus; and it is the more surprising that we have no consistent account in detail of the actions and enterprises of these kings, and especially of the first of them, who so widely extended Greek dominion and Greek civilization, when such an example of correct and reasoning history had been set by Thucidydes, and when we know the pains taken by Alexander himself to cultivate the opinion of the learned of Greece, and to promote and encourage literature for the advancement of his own fame.

“If, however, any man has a right to complain of the treatment he receives from history, and to lament the want of the *vatis sacri* to represent his actions and character in a true light to posterity, it is Alexander. The only justice done to him is in the affixing of the title Great, which his name will carry with it to all time: we have little else regarding him but shallow superficial gossip, and libellous anecdotes, circulated with a view to detraction by the party which his genius and ascendancy excluded from power. It is from such materials that mankind is left to form its judgment upon the man, who holds amongst Greeks even

a higher place than Julius Cæsar amongst Romans, and whose fame even Cæsar envied.

“We do not refer here to the mere school impressions formed from Plutarch and others, of Alexander’s rashness and violence, of his passion and drunkenness, his ambition for false glory, and his vain desire for deification, but to the means we possess of following this conqueror in the great enterprises he successfully carried through, and of marking the changes he effected or contemplated in the institutions and social condition of the world. There is nothing like a philosophical history, or even a true account in detail of Alexander’s exploits and proceedings, in all the literature of Greece and Rome, for assuredly the works of Arrian and Quintus Curtius do not deserve that character.”

This protest with its implied reproach makes us think of the legendary history of Alexander in its Syriac version.

And after all, legends and popular traditions, handed down from generation to generation, are not without their value to the historical student, for, as the poet feelingly pleads—

Deeper meaning
Lies in the fables of my childhood’s years,
Than in life’s grain of truth.

I.

The Syriac version of the Pseudo Callisthenes is an old familiar thing to the European scholastic world. Some time ago Budge was able to place in our hands an English rendering of this legendary story¹ of Alexander in a most acceptable form, and he discussed some of the problems connected with it in a most interesting fashion. I propose to string together a few of the striking episodes of the story in the hope that our friends may be tempted to examine it critically for themselves. On the present

¹ The life of Alexander as given by Eastern writers, contains little that can be deemed authentic.—*Malcolm*.

occasion I shall confine myself mainly to that part of the story which is likely to appeal to us most in India, that part, namely, of the career of Alexander where our great dreamer of imperialism comes into direct contact with India, fights his duel with Porus, interviews the Gymnosophists and has his experience of the wondrous talking trees. As is well known, Alexander's dealings with the Persian monarch and the Persian royal family after the defeat of Darius illustrate some of the noblest traits of his character. The Syriac version contains nothing which in any way detracts from the nobility² that popular imagination has always associated in this connection with the memory of the mighty conqueror of old. And similarly about Darius, we come across nothing that militates against the popular estimate of his weakness³ and indecision which brought about his ruin. Let us note in what light Darius is presented before us, for example, in what follows:—

Darius being vanquished by Alexander, came to a certain river, and finding it frozen, he himself crossed over it in his chariot; but when the army of Darius came to the bank of the river, the troops began to cross over it, and suddenly the ice of the river melted under them, and the army was drowned in the river, and those that remained upon the other side of the river were slaughtered by the Macedonians. Then Darius went into his palace, and threw himself upon his face on the ground, and began to weep for the army of the country, for all the warriors of the country were dead and had perished, and for the land which had been emptied of its mighty men; and he began to say: "Woe is me, which of the stars is it that has destroyed the kingdom of the Persians? I, Darius, who

² True to his *chivalrous instincts*, the victor had the body (of Darius) buried with all pomp at Persepolis.—*Sykes*.

³ After this the ambassadors of the king of Persia came to him with letters proffering ten thousand talents and all Mesopotamia, and his daughter in marriage, and Darius himself to become his friend and associate, if he would cease from war; such conditions that if I were Alexander, said Parminio, I would accept them. So would I, said Alexander, if I were Parminio.

subdued many lands and cities and nations, and reduced a multitude of islands and towns to slavery, have now entered my palace in flight and discomfiture. I, who with the sun traversed the world—but in brief, it is not right for a man to rely upon his destiny, for if his luck turn and there be an opportunity, it lifts up and exalts the most despised of men and seats him above the clouds, while it brings down the lofty from his height and casts him into the depths.” And when he had said this, he rose up from his palace and collected his thoughts, and composed a letter to Alexander and wrote to him thus: “From Darius the king to my lord Alexander. Know first of all that thou art born a man; and I will give thee this token that even thou mayest not meditate any thing too great for thee. Because even the mighty Xerxes, who showed me the light,—he whom the Greeks so loved, as thou must have heard,—meditated something too high for him, and afterwards, having given his mind to greediness, he who lacked nothing, neither gold nor pearls, nor precious stones, nor statues of brass, when his good luck left him, returned from Hellas defeated. And now, call thou these things to mind, and be gracious to us and have mercy upon us, for we have now fled to thee for refuge. Behold now my mother and my wife and my daughter, those who have been given to me by the gods as a joy from the god of gods; they were famed and honoured throughout the whole world; do thou take them as thy slaves. And I will show thee the treasure which my ancestors laid up from the beginning upon the earth. And I will entreat the gods that henceforth thou mayest be master over the Palhaye (Parthians), and the Persians, and the rest of the nations of the world, all the days of thy life; because Zeus hath exalted thee. Farewell.”

Thus the mighty monarch of an once all-powerful empire throws himself on the ground and begins to weep after his defeat at the loss of his army. He lays at the

feet of the Victor all the treasures of his kingdom, his mother, his wife and his daughter, and begs—"do thou take them as thy slaves." When, however, Darius realises that the humiliating submission will not avert the ruin hanging over him, he appeals to Porus :—

"From Darius the king of kings to Porus the king of the Indians, greeting. I have written letters to thee before, asking for assistance in the ruin of my house, because the savageness and fury of this evil beast, which is come against me, do not, as it seems to me, resemble man's; it casts itself into the sea, and loves battle by water, and does not wish to give back to me my mother and my wife and daughter, neither does he desire to make peace with me in any way whatsoever. Therefore I have no resource but of necessity am bound to fight with him. Now thus will I do; either I will take his country from him, or myself will no longer go about among the living in this world. Have pity then upon me at this time, and avenge me that am despised. Remember too the mutual love and friendship, and confidence which existed between our fathers, and give orders to gather together troops from every place and bring them with thee to the Caspian gates, which are called Virophhagar; and I will give to every single man of those who come to my assistance every month three horses and six darics and corn and straw and hay and whatever food he requires; and to thee will I give the half of whatever spoil and booty they make."

In the end the nobles of Darius acted treacherously and two of his generals, we are told, stabbed him with their swords, driving them right through his back. Here, let us note in what light Alexander, as contrasted with Darius, is made to appear before us.⁴ "When Alexander

⁴ According to these authorities (Persian historians) during the heat of battle two of the soldiers of Darab taking advantage of his being unguarded, slew him, and fled to Alexander, from whom they expected a great reward. That monarch, the moment he learnt what had happened, hastened to the spot where the Persian king had fallen. He found him in the pangs of death, stretched upon the ground, and covered with dust and blood. Alexander alighted from the horse, and raised the head

came up to Darius, and saw that he had been mercilessly stabbed and lying on the ground, he let fall tears from his eyes upon Darius, and spread over Darius the purple garment with which he was clothed, and sat down by him, and laid his hand upon the breast of Darius, and said to Darius, sorrowfully: "Rise up, Darius: be lord again over thy land, and take the royal crown of Persians, and be again renowned for greatness. I swear an oath by all the gods that I say this in sincerity and do not speak falsely; I will restore and give to thee alone the crown and kingship, because I ate salt at thy table when I came to thee as a spy. *And now stand up and play the man; for it does not become a king to be in trouble because his luck turns away from him for a little while.*⁵ We are all men, and are yoked to fate, and as fate wills so it exalts us. Arise now, and play the man, and take thy country, and henceforth thou shalt have no trouble or sorrow, through me. Say then now, who these are that stabbed thee, and I will take vengeance for thee upon them."

When Alexander had spoken all these words, Darius heaved sighs and let fall tears from his eyes, and took Alexander's hand from his breast and brought it to his mouth and kissed it, and said to him: "My son Alexander, never let thy mind be lifted up by vainglorious

of his enemy upon his knees. The soul of the conqueror was melted at the sight, he shed tears, and kissed the cheek of the expiring Darab; who, opening his eyes, exclaimed: "The world has a thousand doors through which its tenants continually enter, and pass away!" "I swear to you," said Alexander, "I never wished a day like this! I desired not to see your royal head in the dust, nor that blood should stain these cheeks!" When Darab heard his conqueror mourning over him, he sighed deeply, and said, he trusted his base murderers would not escape: that Alexander would not place a stranger on the throne of Persia; and that he would not injure the honour of his family; but marry his daughter, Roushunuk. The moment after he had expressed these wishes, he expired: his body was instantly embalmed with musk and amber, wrapped in a cloth of gold, and placed in a rich coffin adorned with jewels. It was, in that state, carried to the sepulchral vault with the most extraordinary honours. Ten thousand men with drawn swords preceded it: ten thousand more followed, and an equal number marched on each flank. Alexander himself, with the nobles of Persia, and the great officers of his army, attended the obsequies as mourners. The moment the funeral was over, the two murderers of Darab were hanged. Some time afterwards, Alexander married Roushunuk, and nominated the brother of the late king to the sovereignty of Persia: but his power does not appear to have been established, as the policy of Alexander led him to divide that empire into ninety different principalities.

⁵ The italics are mine.

arrogance; for thou doest and performest and orderest all deeds and works and orderings like the gods, and thou mayest imagine in thy mind that thy hands have reached heaven. Then it will be necessary for thee to fear what may happen in the hereafter. Because of this it is certain to me that fate is known neither to the king nor to the meanest among men, and that the final destiny of men is hidden and concealed from all. Look now what I was, and what I am: I who proudly subdued and captured countries and lords and many kings of the earth trembled at me; and now I am cast away like the lowest of all men. And of all the host of my generals and officers and ambassadors, not one is near me now to close my eyes, except these hands of thine, O king, doer of good things. Let the Macedonians and Persians sit in mourning for me, and let the two armies become one, and let the seed of Philip and Darius be one. And as for Ariodocht (Irindokht) my mother regard her now as if thou thyself wert born of her, and consider my wife as thy sister, and take my daughter Roshnak (Roxane) for thy wife, that the seed of Darius and of Philip may be mingled in her." Then Alexander brought his hand to the face of Darius who said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit"; and straightway his soul departed.

Then Alexander gave orders to wash the body of Darius, and to array him in royal apparel, and that all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies should march in full armour before Darius; and he together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.

On the eve of the celebration of the marriage feast Alexander wrote a letter to Roshnak as follows: "From Alexander to Roshnak my sister greeting. I send thee clothes and other ornaments for thine own self, and to Irindokht the mother of Darius, and Estehar (Statira) his

wife, for themselves. Accept them and keep for thyself these clothes and ornaments. First of all be pleasing to the gods; then pay due reverence to Irandokht and Estehar, and hold them in honour; and fear thou, the command of Olympias my mother, and do not exalt thyself beyond measure. If thou doest these things, both I and thou shall be praised exceedingly and all the gods be well pleased with us." Then Alexander took Roshnak to wife.

The letter I have just quoted has a strange appeal for the Indian reader. Because the sentiments it conveys are the time-honoured sentiments of an Indian householder. The Greek hero on the eve of his marriage writes to his bride elect, and exhorts her to be in the first place, pleasing to the gods. "Then," he adds, "honour your father's mother and your own mother. Do thou also fear the commands of my mother and do not exalt thyself over much." Not a word is to be found about his own self, excepting this that the pursuit of these ideals on the part of the wife would make their wedded life praiseworthy in the estimation of man and "approved" in the eyes of Heaven. Have we not here one of those basic principles on which rests the solidarity of the entire domestic economy of an orthodox Hindu household? A striking illustration of the approximation between the ancient Greek mind and the trend of Hindu thought, if the letter under reference be not a later oriental interpolation.⁶

How pale and colourless, void of force of thought or fire of passion is the somewhat pointless corresponding

⁶ The incident which has most laid hold of the Oriental peoples to proclaim Alexander's chastity is that which happened in connexion with the mother, wife and daughter of Darius. When Parmenion suggested to him that the Persian royal women should share the usual fate of female captives, he replied that it would be a disgraceful thing for the Greeks having fought and overcome men to allow themselves to be vanquished by women. Elsewhere Alexander says that he has neither seen nor does he desire to see the wife of Darius, who was said to be a most beautiful woman, and that he has not allowed any man to speak of her beauty in his presence.

These facts, in whole or in part, must have found their way all over the East, and they, no doubt, greatly impressed the Oriental imagination. Budge's *Introduction to the Ethiopic version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*.

epistle in the *Ethiopic* version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which runs thus:—

“I give thanks unto God Almighty, Who hath given the Persians unto me, and Who hath made them subject unto me by thy marriage (with me), and behold, I rejoice and am glad in thee and in them by reason of this thing. And I have written to my mother to tell her of what I have seen and of my marriage with thee, in order that she may deal graciously with thee and may treat thee with becoming reverence because of it, and may send to thee such things as are necessary for a queen, for I have heard concerning thine honourable estate, and thy beauty, and thine understanding, and thy renown.”

II.

The Oriental Translation Fund has been the means of placing within our easy reach in an acceptable form English versions of a number of immortal Classics of the Eastern World. These are not confined to any one branch of thought and literature, but relate practically to every department of Belles Lettres, History and Philosophy. To the historical student, one of the most interesting of these is a volume entitled *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, which came to our hands so far back as 1832. The work is a translation from the original Persian of Mirkhond (Muhammad Ibn Khavand Shah) who died A. H. 903, at the mature age of 66. The translator is David Shea, who was attached to the Oriental Department of the East India Company's College—a name which to us in these competition days is a pleasant reminder of the old Hayleybury of John Company. To the wider general interest which attaches to this volume, I propose to revert in a separate paper on a subsequent occasion. In the present connection I am anxious to invite reference to those Sections of this Persian History in which our author deals with the reign of Darab and portrays the character

and traces the career of Iskander, and I hasten to point out the close and striking resemblance between these Sections and the corresponding Sections in the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Indeed the correspondence is so close as inevitably to suggest the conclusion that here we have one of the Persian versions of the story embodied in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, though Mirkhond himself tells us that his account of the last moments of Darius is taken from *Tarikh Moajem* and whatever is related more at large in the *Mabsut* is by him recorded in the life of Iskander. Budge remarks, "Between the 10th and 14th centuries a large number of works based upon Arabic compositions, were written upon Alexander and his deeds by Persian writers. Of these the most important are the Histories of Firdausi, Nizami and Mirkhwand."

The question which is thus raised regarding the relation between Mirkhond's History and the Pseudo-Callisthenes in its Syriac version cannot be profitably discussed here. But the close correspondence between the two to which I have invited attention is indicative of the once wide diffusion and general acceptance of the legendary story.

In reference to the last moments of Darius, and Alexander's bearing on the occasion, Mirkhond has the following—the *Mabsut*, as he tells us, being one of the main sources of his information:—

"At last two of Dara's principal courtiers, urged on by their depraved natures and corrupt hearts, conspired to assassinate him; thinking by such a deed to procure the friendship of Zu-ul-Kurnain:—

'Alas!' O vain imagination! O groundless hope. Before they could employ sword or dagger to effect their purpose, Dara, perceiving the design of the traitors, reproached them with their ingratitude, and recalled to their minds how profusely he had lavished favours on them, during a continuance of many years. Last of all,

he said: 'Do not build on my assassination as the means of recommending yourselves to Zu-ul-Kurnain's friendship: he is sovereign; and although princes are sometimes enemies to each other, yet they invariably put regicides to death, and look on it as unlawful to spare the murderers of a king.'

'Our former friends pay no attention to any thing:

'Whatever I utter makes no impression on them.'

The two traitors, with the blows of their well-tempered sabres, soon hurled him to the ground, from off his fleet courser's saddle; but before the vital spirit departed, Iskander, having opportunely come up, raised on his knee that head which yesterday was adorned with the imperial diadem, and which to-day he beheld dishonoured and prostrate on the dust. Having wiped the dust of Dara's face, and laying his hand on his breast, he exclaimed, with tears: 'O king, if you banish alarm from your bosom, and raise your head from the dust, I swear, by the Lord of Heaven and Earth, that I will give you back your kingdom, your treasures, and all your possessions. Arise ! Think no more of the past: grieve not to excess at the occurrence of calamity: for in the season of adversity princes surpass all mortals in patience. Let me know from what source this great calamity has befallen a powerful monarch like you, that I may inflict vengeance.' Dara kissed Iskander's hand; and placing it on his face, he wept, and thus made answer : 'O Zu-ul-Kurnain ! never permit pride or presumption to find access to your soul: become not arrogant through the splendour of royalty. When you observe how the world has treated me, be apprehensive for yourself: place no reliance on the permanence of worldly prosperity; and be on your guard against the treasons of fortune and the revolutions of life ; for accidental reverses allow no person to remain long in one state. The following is what I expect, from the excess of your goodness, and your perfect compassion—

that you regard my mother as your own; look upon my wife as a sister; and bind yourself in marriage to my daughter Rusheng. Iskander solemnly promised to execute all these requests: after which Dara

‘Numbered some few moments longer, and ceased to exist.

‘The world said,’ with a smile, ‘He too is now no more!’

Zu-ul-Kurnain ordered the body of Dara to be washed in musk and ambergris, wrapped up in funeral clothes of gold and silver tissue, and to be laid in a coffin set with all kinds of precious stones : ten thousand soldiers, with drawn swords, marched before the bier; the same number followed it; the same on the right, and as many on the left. Zu-ul-Kurnain was enabled to commit to the tomb the body of Dara in a manner suitable to the rank of a powerful king, in consequence of an agreement entered into with the chiefs and princes of Farsisthan : and no sooner had he terminated the funeral ceremonies, than they affixed to two gibbets, at the head of Dara’s tomb, opposite each other, the two false traitors who had conspired against their lord; and suspended them by the neck.

After this, Iskander married Rusheng.”

From the materials before us we have little difficulty in forming our own conclusions regarding the identity between Mirkhond’s version and the Pseudo-Callisthenes. This similarity is equally noticeable in the subject-matter of the next remarkable incident in the career of Alexander, namely, his encounter with the Indian Sovereign—Porus.

Before, however, coming to the somewhat elaborate and hence to us in India all the more interesting account of Alexander’s conflict with Porus, we may first conveniently refer to the story of the talking trees of the sun and moon. Alexander, we are told, wrote a letter to his

old preceptor, Aristotle, in which he himself narrates some of the more important episodes in his victorious march after the settlement of the Persian affairs. In that letter we read that in course of his wanderings to and from the ancient city of the Prasii, the country of the Prasiake—Alexander was thus addressed by an Indian :—

“ King Alexander, we have something famous, which it is right that thou shouldst see. We will show thee therefore two talking trees which talk like human beings.”

What follows I narrate in the words of Budge as the narrative is given in his English rendering of the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes:—

“ As soon as he had said this speech, I commanded him to be beaten as one who had said something which he was not able to show. Then he said to me, ‘ O King, doer of good things, I have not lied in what I have said to thee.’ Then I rose up from there and went a journey of fifteen days with the Indian, and we arrived at a certain place, and thus he spake: ‘ This is the end of the south quarter of the world, and from here onwards there is nothing at all except a wilderness, and ravening beasts and evil reptiles, and none of us is able to advance beyond this place.’ When he had said this to me, he brought me into a beautiful garden, the wall of which was not of stones nor of clay, but trees were planted round it and were so dense that not even the light of the sun or the moon was seen through them; and in the midst of the garden there was another enclosure which was hedged round, and they called it the temple of the sun and of the moon. And two trees were there, the like of which for length and breadth I had never seen. Their length was immeasurable, and so I thought that their tops were near unto heaven. Their appearance was like unto the cypresses which are in our country, and they grew up within the enclosure; and they said that one of them is male and the other female. They said of the male that he is the sun, and that the female is the moon, and

in their language they call the one *Mitora*, and the other *Mayosa*. Skins of all kinds of animals were lying there, before the male skins of males, and before the female skins of females; but no vessels of iron or brass or tin or clay were found there at all. And when I asked them, 'Of what are these the skins?' they said to me, of lions and leopards, because those who worship the sun and moon are not allowed to wear any other clothing but skins.' Then I asked them about these trees, 'When do they speak?' And they said to me, 'That of the sun in the morning and at midday and towards evening, at these three times it speaks; and that of the moon in the evening and at midnight and towards the dawn.' Then the priests that were in the garden came to me and said to me, 'Enter, O King, purely, and do reverence.' Then I called my friends Phormion (Parmenion), Artaron (Craterus), Philip, and others; twelve men I took, and we began to enter the temple. The chief priest said unto me, 'O King, it is not meet to bring into the temple tools of iron.' Then I bade my friends take their swords and put them outside the enclosure, and I ordered twelve alone of them outside the enclosure, and I ordered these twelve alone of all my troops to go in with me without their swords, but I gave orders that they should first go round about the trees, because I thought that they might have brought me there treacherously; but after they had come in and had gone round about, they said to me, 'There is nothing at all here.' Then I took hold of the hand of one of the Indians and went in there, that when the tree spoke, the Indian might interpret for me; and I swore to him by Olympias my mother, and by Ammon, and by the victory of all the gods of the Macedonians, 'If I do not hear a voice from this tree as soon as the sun sets, I will slay you all with the sword.' As soon as the sun had set, a voice came from that tree in a barbarous tongue; and when I asked the Indian 'What is this voice from this tree?' he was

afraid to explain it to me and wished to hide it. Then I straightway understood, and I took hold of the Indian and led him aside and said to him, 'If thou dost not explain this voice to me, I will kill thee with a hard and bitter death.' And the Indian whispered in my ears, 'The explanation of the voice is this: thou wilt shortly perish by thy troops.' Then I and my friends went again into the temple by night, and when I had drawn near to the tree of the moon, and had done reverence to it, and placed my hand upon it, again at that moment from the tree a voice came in the Greek tongue, 'Thou shalt die at Babylon.' And when I together with my friends were marvelling at this wonder, my mind was troubled and sorrowful, and I desired to put the glorious and beautiful crown which was upon my head in that place; but the priest said to me, 'Thou canst not do this, unless thou choosest to do it by violence, for laws are not laid down for kings.' Then, as I was in trouble and sorrow because of these things, my friends Parmaon (Parmenion) and Philip tried to persuade me to sleep and to rest myself a little. I did not consent, however, but remained awake the whole night. When the dawn was near, I and my friends together with the priest and the Indians again entered the temple; and I and the priest went to the tree, and I laid my hands upon it and questioned it, saying, 'Tell me if the days of my life are come to an end; this too I desire to know, if it will be granted to me to go to Macedonia, and to see Olympias my mother, and to ask after her welfare, and to return again.' And as soon as the sun had risen and his rays had fallen upon the top of the tree, a loud and harsh voice came from it, which spake thus, 'The years of thy life are come to an end, and thou wilt not be able to go to Macedonia, but thou wilt perish in Babylon after a short time by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and thy mother too will die a hideous death by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and in the same way thy sister also; but do

not ask further concerning this matter, for thou wilt hear nothing more from us.' ”

The oracular trees of the sun and moon somewhere on the confines of India occupy a large space in mediæval tradition. In Charles Lamb's specimens, we have an extract from an old English drama, namely *Broome's Antipodes*, in which one of the characters says

“ Candish and Hawkins, Frobisher, all our Voyagers
Went short of Mandevil. But had he reached
To this place—here—yes, here—this wilderness,
And seen the *Trees of the Sun and Moon*, that speak
And told King Alexander of his death;
He then
Had left a passage ope to Travellers
That now is kept and guarded by Wild Beasts.”
Again, in an ancient Low German poem we read—
“ In India the Grecian Alexander
The wilderness broke through ;
With trees twain he there did speak.”

Curiously enough, Marco Polo, as Yule points out, has mixed up this Alexandrian romance with a famous subject of Christian legend—the *Arbre Sec* or *Dry Tree*, one form of which is related by Mandeville. Says Marco Polo, speaking of Tonocain (meaning perhaps the whole of the Persian Khorasan).

“ It contains an immense plain on which is found the *Arbre Sol*, which we Christians call the *Arbre Sec*; and I will tell you what it is like. It is a tall and thick tree; having the bark on one side green and the other white; and it produces a rough husk like that of a chestnut, but without anything in it. The wood is yellow like box, and very strong, and there are no other trees near it nor within a hundred miles of it, except on one side, where you find trees within about ten miles' distance. And there, the people of the country tell you, was fought the battle between Alexander and King Darius.”

Hence we find learned controversies regarding the identification of the tree, and commentators contend among themselves if it is the cypress or the chinar, the Oriental plane. Yule, in his edition of the Book of Marco Polo, gives us a reproduction of an old drawing of the trees of the sun and moon.

As to the dry tree, readers of Fa Hian's Travels will at once recognise how the Chinese pilgrim speaks of a sacred tree which had grown from the twig that Sakyamuni had used as a tooth-brush. In Chapter XIX of this Travels, we read,

“As you go out of the city of *Sha-che* (which has been identified with the present *Saket* by Cunningham and others) by the southern gate, on the east of the road is the place where Buddha, after he had chewed his willow branch, stuck it in the ground, when it forthwith grew up seven cubits (at which height it remained), neither increasing nor diminishing. The Brahmans with their contrary doctrines became angry and jealous. Sometimes they cut the tree down, sometimes they plucked it up, and cast it to a distance, but it grew again on the same spot as at first.”

I now come to Alexander's interview with the Gymnosophists of India, the memory of which is to this day lovingly treasured in the heart of every Indian historical student. Alexander came to hear of these naked sages soon after his victory over Porus, and he advanced towards Ratniron, the country where they dwelt. The conversation between the Greek Conqueror and the Brahmin Philosophers, the questions put and the answers received by the parties concerned, as given in this legendary history, are far too interesting to us in India to be glossed over—for they come home to men's minds in this land of dreams and of spiritual exaltation in a remarkably forcible fashion—we read in the pages of Budge,—

“They sent certain sages that were among them to

Alexander with their letter. And when he saw their letter, he found written therein as follows: 'From the Brahmans, the naked sages (gymnosophists), to the man Alexander greeting. We write to thee thus: if thou desirest to come in order to make war with us, thou wilt gain nothing at all from us, for we have no property at all that can be taken away from us by war; and if thou desirest to take away that which we have, thou canst (only) take it away by entreaty, for our property is knowledge, and knowledge cannot be taken away by war; but even this thou art not capable of learning, for the heavenly will distributed and gave to thee war, and to us knowledge.'

When Alexander had read this letter, he went to them peaceably, and he saw that they were all naked, and that they dwelt under booths and in caves, and that their wives and children went about the plain like sheep.

Then Alexander asked one of them, "Have ye no graves here?" The Brahman said, "The place where we live is our house, and it is also our grave; here then we lie down, and bury our bodies continually in it, that our training and our teaching may be in this world and that the term of our life in yonder world may be for ever and aye." And he asked another Brahman, "Which men are the more numerous, those that are dead or those that are alive?" The Brahman said, "Those that are dead are the more numerous, for those who will hereafter come are not to be counted among those who are now alive; and you must know of yourself what innumerable myriads have died through thee and these few legions that are with thee." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the mightier, death or life?" The Brahman said, "Life; for when the sun rises and becomes warm like life, he covers over the feebleness of night by the beams of his radiance, and becomes strong. So also they who are dead are fallen beneath the darkness of death; but when life rises

upon them like the sun, they will again come to life." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the older, the earth or the sea?" The Brahman said, "The earth, for the sea too is placed upon the earth." He asked another Brahman, "Which is the most wicked of all living things?" The Brahman said, "Man." Alexander said, "Tell me how so." The Brahman said, "Ask thyself how many beings go about with thee, that thou mayest wrest the lands and countries of other living beings, thy fellow creatures, from their owners, and hold them thyself alone." Alexander was not enraged at this speech, for he wished to hear. He asked another Brahman, "What is kingdom?" The Brahman said, "Greed and brief power, and arrogance and the insolence of wicked doings." He asked another Brahman, "Which existed first, night or day?" The Brahman said, "Night; for a child is first of all created in darkness in the womb of his mother, and then when he is brought forth, he sees the light." He asked another Brahman, "Who is he whom we cannot deceive by lying?" The Brahman said, "He to whom all secrets are revealed." He asked another Brahman, "Which limbs are the better, those on the left side or those on the right?" The Brahman said, "Those on the left; for the sun shines on the left side; and a woman suckles her child first from the left breast; and when we sacrifice to God, we make our offering to him with the left hand; and kings hold the sceptre of their kingdom in their left hand." And when Alexander had asked this question, he said to them, "Whatsoever ye desire ask of me all of you at once, and I will give it you." The Brahmans said, "We ask of thee immortality." Alexander said, "I am not master over immortality, because I am mortal." The Brahmans said, "Since thou art mortal, why dost thou make all these wars and battles? When thou hast seized the whole world, whither wouldst thou carry it? for since thou art mortal, it will remain with others." Alexander said, "All these things

happen by the Providence and the will of heaven, and we wait on the heavenly command; for just as the waves of the sea are not lifted up unless the wind blows upon them, nor do the trees shake when there is no wind, so neither are men able to do anything without a command from above. I very much desire to rest from wars, but If all men were of one mind and one will, the whole world would be a wilderness and without cultivation; no man would sail on the sea in ships, neither would any cultivate the earth, and there would be no generation of children. How many unlucky men are there, who have got mixed up with these wars which I have carried on, and whose possessions have perished from them. And on the other hand, how many lucky men have there chanced to be, who have become enriched by the possession of others. Every one of us then who plunders something from another leaves it again to someone else, and we depart naked and empty." When Alexander had spoken these words, he turned away from the Brahmans, and he was much fatigued and worn out by the journey, for the country through which he was marching was pathless, and no one had ever marched through it before.

We cannot help noticing the sigh of regret which breathes through this concluding declaration—the tone of dissatisfaction with the part which the higher powers have allotted to Alexander, the tacit realisation and admission of the fact that after all the acquisition and communication of knowledge are things nobler far than bloodshed, conquest and warfare.

It may be noted in passing that in the fragments—far too precious for us—relating to Megasthenes, which the loving ardour and scholarship of Schwanbeck have put together is to be found an account of the interview of Alexander the Great with the Indian Gymnosophists. It is interesting to compare its general tone and trend with that of the account given in the Syriac version of the

Pseudo-Callisthenes. The general substance of one characteristic episode as recorded in the Schwanbeck fragments is therefore here appended for convenience of reference :—

On his arrival at Taxila, Alexander, we gather, was seized with a strong desire to have one of the Indian Gymnosophists brought before him. Onesikrates was hence sent to fetch Dandanis. When the messenger invited him to go to the son of Zeus with the promise of gifts if he complied and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go, and among other things proudly said: "Know this, what Alexander offers me is to me utterly worthless. The things which I prize are these leaves which are my house, these plants which supply me with food, and the water which is my drink. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot destroy my soul. Tell him I have no need of aught that is his; so let him come to me if he wants anything of me." On hearing this, Alexander, we are told, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandanis, "who though old and naked was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found his match."

The Gymnosophist Kalanos, however, was a man of a different stamp. He went over to Alexander, and became a slave to the conqueror's table.

J. N. DAS GUPTA.

Calcutta.

CHANDERNAGORE.

BY F. B. BRADLEY BIRT, I.C.S

I.

OF all the other European nations who once strove for place and power along the banks of the Hooghly the French alone have survived into the twentieth century. It is a strange survival, this little strip of territory over which the tricolour floats to-day. Even of its three and seven-eighths square miles, only about seven bighas belong to the French in full sovereignty, revenue being paid for the remainder to the British Government through the Collector of Hooghly. Picturesque, with something around it of the glamour of France, which has clung to it so tenaciously, bargaining for its return in treaty after treaty, it is yet but a pathetic reminder of great aspirations unfulfilled. Only its pageant of memories remains. Deslandes, its founder and Governor for over a decade ; Dupleix, whose genius raised so high its hopes ; Renault, its brave defender in its darkest hour ; Chevalier striving to clothe it with something of the grace and elegance of the Court of the Grand Monarch ; and perhaps most vivid of all that wondrous figure of beauty and romance who here launched forth upon that career of strange vicissitudes which was yet to carry her to such triumph as Princess Talleyrand and Benevento at the Imperial Court of France—these who once played so brave a part are but flitting shadows in the modern city of Chandernagore to-day. Of Fort Orleans that once so proudly fronted the river no trace remains. Only the great pillars of its gateway, crumbling and decayed, mark the spot where once stood the Garden House at Ghiretty, reputed the finest house in India, with its magnificent painted salon that recalled the splendours of

Versailles, and within whose walls was wont to gather all that was gayest and most brilliant in the Bengal of its day. When the French first came to Chandernagore still remains in doubt. The French East India Company was founded under the auspices of Colbert, Louis the Fourteenth's great Finance Minister, in 1664, the King encouraging it by issuing an edict that it was not derogatory for the nobility to engage in commerce. But like most of the European nations, their first contact with India was in the West and South, and it was apparently not till some years later that the French sailed up the Bay and into the estuary of the Ganges. The first adventure related of the French in Bengal is a curious side-light on the strange vicissitudes of the times. All the other Western nations sailed up the Bay with deliberate intent to trade and profit. The French alone made an altogether involuntary first entrance. The story of it is given in a letter from Walter Clavell, the English Company's chief representative in the Bay, to the Court of Directors at Home. It is dated from Balasore December 28th, 1674, and states that the preceding year a French sailing ship, the *Flemen*, on its way from St. Thome which it left in April 1673 became separated from the rest of the French fleet and was driven up the Bay of Bengal into the Balasore roads. There she was captured by three Dutch merchantmen on their way to Chinsura, and they "had the confidence," so runs the letter of Walter Clavell, "to bring her up to Hooghly before their own factory." Such high handed action aroused considerable indignation and a demand was made that the ship should be taken from the Dutch and re-delivered to the French, who incited thereto by the English at Balasore complained to the Moghul authorities at Dacca. The upshot was that the Dutch were forced to relinquish their prize by order of the Moghul Government while the French, after being courteously received, were sent away with fair promises

and liberty to build factories and carry on trade in any part of Bengal they pleased. "In Hugly," continues the English account, "they made a small house neere the Dutch Factory. From which the Dutch by their application and present to the Moores have routed them, and they thereupon pretendedly but really because they can borrow no more money, have lately left Hugly and are intended for the coast in an open boate, and taking a long farewell of Bengala where they are indebted about rupees 8,000."

They did not, however, take a long farewell of Bengal as Walter Clavell says they intended doing. The "small house neere the Dutch Factory" is doubtless the one alluded to by Streynsham Master who sailed up the Hooghly in 1676 and which he describes in his diary under date September 13th. "Lesse than two miles short of Hugly we passed by the Dutch Garden and a little further by a large spot of ground which the Ffrench had laid out in a factory, the gate to which was standing but was now in possession of the Dutch. Then we came by the Dutch Factory." The "small house" was thus evidently to the north of the present Chandernagore adjoining Chinsura, and appears to have been their first actual settlement on the banks of the Hooghly, the Danes first occupying what is now the southern portion of Chandernagore. French, Dutch, Danes and English all seem to have built their first temporary factories close together, doubtless for protection against the common enemy, the Moghul Government, while as yet the "neutrality of the Ganges" so far as they were concerned among themselves remained unbroken.

A few years later Caron, the first French Director in India, sent an expedition to Bengal under the leadership of André Boureau Deslandes, who was destined later to be the founder of Chandernagore. This expedition which went first to Balasore, proceeded thence up the river and established a French settlement on the outskirts of Hooghly, close by where the Portuguese still held tenaciously

to their ground in spite of the 'annihilation of their political hopes forty years before, and where the English and the Dutch were also striving for a footing. Deslandes' earliest letters are dated "Hugli," and it is evident that the first settlement was there, adjoining the Muhammadan town. The English records show that the French were active a few years later in 1686, and that the French Company had sent out orders to settle factories all over Bengal and were endeavouring to obtain the Emperor's firman. "French trade is increasing by new settlements in Bengal though no factory has been built, nor any certain terms agreed upon," the English records suspiciously note in 1689. But two years later a Fort St. George letter relates more confidently that "the monseers have long been idle and quiet at Pullichery tho' their Chief in Bengal is building severall large factories, bigg enough for a mighty trade but 'tis doubted too large for their stock."

One of the factories was doubtless the factory at Chandernagore where the French had apparently removed in 1691. The removal there from Hooghly, according to one account, was due to a dispute with the Portuguese Augustinian Friars. In the "*Memoirs sur la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*" it is stated that in 1601 Monsieur Deslandes had a dispute with the Augustinians of Bandel who had sent their own Christians "*pour forcer la loge*" at Hooghly and that in consequence he had withdrawn to Chandernagore where he had built another "*loge*," the plan of it being sent for approval to M. Martin, Head of the French Settlement at Surat. The new building was designed by the Jesuit Pere Duchatz, who was "*Aumonier du Comptoir*" and who had been sent to Hooghly at the request of the Jesuits there, the latter being anxious to oust the Augustinians, whose "bad conduct" had become a scandal to religion. Several years later the Bishop of St. Thome, at the request of Messieurs Martin and Deslandes, separated the "*cure*" of Chandernagore

from that of Bandel, making the former into an independent Parish. The Church of Notre Dame de Chandernagore appears to have been originally erected by Monsieur Deslandes and given by him to the Jesuits to preserve the tomb of his wife and two of his daughters, and to be used for no other purpose than to have masses said for their souls. The Jesuits, however, succeeded eventually in getting it enlarged into the parish church of Chandernagore, though they had but a short connection with it, the French Company in 1699 forbidding the appointment of Jesuits or priests of Foreign Missions as Chaplains to its Factories and ordering that Capuchins, "gens sans intrigue," be chosen in their place.

Curiously little has been written of Monsieur Deslandes to whom Chandernagore owes its origin. His fame has been eclipsed by the later glory of Dupleix, yet his is a name not unworthy of the highest honours among Frenchmen in India. Born at Tours somewhere between 1640 and 1650 he is first heard of in India between 1667 and 1672 in the service of the French East India Company. Sent by Caron, the first French Director in India at Surat, to open up trade with Bengal he is said to have reached Balasore and thence sailed up the Hooghly, establishing the first French settlement on its banks. After his marriage with Françoise, daughter of Monsieur Martin, the French Director at Surat, he was appointed Director-General of Commerce in Bengal, leaving Pondichery in April 1688, to take up his new duties. In October of the following year we find his father-in-law calling upon him to send a ship-load of food from Bengal to relieve the distress that was then prevailing in Pondichery.

Established in his new "loge" Deslandes was soon destined to receive a visit from Monsieur Martin, but unfortunately not under the happiest circumstances. On September 26th, 1693, Pondichery surrendered to the Dutch, Monsieur Martin being transported to Batavia.

From there, however, he was soon allowed to return to India and on February 15th, 1694, he joined his son-in-law at Chandernagore. Here he remained for three years in a forced retreat that must have been galling to his proud and active spirit until Pondichery was restored to the French by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. He left Chandernagore early in the following year. Three years later Monsieur Deslandes gave over charge of the office he had so long held. In a letter of January 9th, 1701, he states that some firmans for which he had been long negotiating had been at length obtained and that he considered the time had come when he could afford, after his long period of service, to leave the affairs of the settlement he had founded to other hands. Family cares and poor health also urged retirement. On the following day, therefore, he gave over charge to Monsieur Dulivier, Messieurs Pele and Renault being members of Council, and set out in the *Phelypeaux* for Pondichery, finally reaching France on August the 28th, 1701. Unlike his more famous successor, Dupleix, he met with much honour on his return home, Louis XIV conferring upon him letters of nobility for himself and his successors as a reward for his Indian services. Later, in spite of his long years of service in the East, he accepted the appointment of Commissioner at St. Domingo. But he was not destined to return to France again. He died in the West Indies on February 13th, 1706. So passed the founder of Chandernagore, honoured by his King and furnishing the rare instance of an Indian Administrator afterwards serving his country in another hemisphere.

Chandernagore preserves no memorial of its founder. Even his name is almost forgotten and of the "loge" that he built in the last years of the seventeenth century all trace was swept away in the troublous days that followed. Only in the old Church registers are his name and that of Madame Deslandes still to be found, the latter with

the proud title of *Madame la Directrice Generale*, as she loved to style herself, signed beneath it. Madame Deslandes was the daughter of Monsieur Martin, Chief of the French Factories in India, and of her family of seven children, one was born at Hooghly and five at Chandernagore between the years 1690 and 1697. The entries of all five are still to be seen in the baptismal registers. But that is the only record of them. The death register and the tomb that was to have held the bodies of Madame Deslandes and her two daughters has disappeared. Yet in 1776 two masses a year were still being said for the souls of Madame Deslandes, the first *Directrice Generale*, and for Madame d'Hardancourt, her niece, the wife of Chevalier Claude d'Hardancourt who became Director of Chandernagore in 1711.

There is little material with which to form a picture of Chandernagore in 1701 when Monsieur Deslandes, its founder, considered it sufficiently established to leave it to other hands. It was still only a small trading settlement, its factory guarded by a Fort that the French, like the English at Calcutta and the Dutch at Chinsura, had taken advantage of Subha Sing's rebellion in 1696 to erect. Of pretentious buildings there were few, the Church and the Fort being probably the only brick and stone structures in existence. The little chapel of the Italian Mission where Friar Marcus, famous for his geographical work on India, lived for many years, was built close by the river side in 1726 on the site now occupied by St. Mary's Convent, which still bears the date on its outer door. Deslandes' immediate successors were either men of inferior ability or too insufficiently supported from home to launch new schemes of progress, and the prosperity of Chandernagore waned considerably during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Captain Alexander Hamilton, writing in 1723, speaks of the French at Chandernagore, "where their factory is, but, for want of money, they are not in a

capacity to trade." "They have a few private families dwelling near the Factory," he adds contemptuously, "and a paltry little Church to hear mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal." Yet in spite of the waning prosperity of his little settlement the French Governor was by no means unmindful of his dignity. On December 13th, 1715, it is recorded in the Diary Consultations of the English Factory at Calcutta that Monsieur d'Hardancourt, Director of the French Factory at Chandernagore, had written a letter to the English Governor "advising that the reason why the French did not give the usuall ceremony of a salute when the ships passed by our Fort was because the Fort did not return gun for gun." What reply the English Company sent is not forthcoming, though it is gravely recorded that "an answer to which letter being wrote by our Governors was now read and approved of" and further "Agreed therefore Said Letter be sent to the French Chiefe and a copy thereof entered in the Letter Book." International courtesies, however, were not wanting. In February 1701 Monsieur Deslandes writes to the Governor of Calcutta condoling with him on the loss of the *East Indian Merchant* and sending two ships to assist in the work of salvage. Visits between the two settlements, moreover, seem to have been by no means rare events. Mrs. Rebecca Russell, sister of Governor Eyre and wife of Governor Russell, died at Chandernagore on April 14th, 1713, and on May 29th of the said year it is recorded in the Diary and Consultation Book of the United Trade Council at Fort William that "The Governor being recovered of his illness returned this day from Chandernagore."

But with the coming of Joseph François Dupleix as intendant in 1731 Chandernagore entered on a new phase of its existence. For ten years he remained the life and soul of the little French settlement. Bringing with him a fortune he had amassed during ten years' successful

enterprise, he proceeded to invest it in the local trade that was being carried on by his countrymen at Chandernagore. His wealth thus provided them with the capital, the lack of which had so sorely handicapped them, and brought them new life and energy. Purchasing ships and cargoes on a scale hitherto unknown in the little settlement, he attracted native traders, making every possible appeal to the Oriental mind. Living in almost regal state he exacted the full deference due to his position as representative of a great Western power, coining his own money and treating as on equal terms with the Moghul authorities. So wonderful was the awakening of Chandernagore under his inspiring influence that within four years of his arrival the few ill-equipped country boats that had comprised all the shipping that rode at anchor opposite the French settlement had grown into a fleet of forty-six sea-faring ships, heavily laden with merchandise for the four corners of India, Tibet, China, Persia and beyond. So great was the confidence that Dupleix inspired that money attracted by the growing success of its trade poured in from every quarter and freed from the financial embarrassments which had so long handicapped them the commercial instincts of the Company's servants had full play. Out factories were founded at Cossimbazar, Jougdia, Dacca, Balasore and Patna all looking to Chandernagore as their head. From a little group of insignificant houses amidst the jungle on the river bank, well nigh deserted and forlorn, Chandernagore rose into a thriving town of over a hundred thousand inhabitants, four thousand of whom were converts made by the Jesuit Missionaries. It was small wonder that the English at Calcutta and the other Western nations along the banks of the Hooghly looked with envy at this astonishing progress of their French rival.

No mention of Dupleix would be complete without some acknowledgment of the debt he owed to his wife, the famous Joanna Begum. In her he found an admirable

help-meet in all his schemes, and much of his knowledge of the Oriental mind and of his success in dealing with Eastern problems may be ascribed to her. Born at Pondichery, of good French and Portuguese stock, she had spent all her life in India, and, a remarkably clever woman, she had acquired a wonderful knowledge of Indian life and character that proved invaluable in the position she was eventually called upon to occupy. Her father had served as a physician in the French Company's service, her mother being Dona Elizabeth de Castro, a Portuguese of part Italian extraction. Before becoming the wife of Dupleix she had married M. Jacques Vincens, a member of Council at Chandernagore, who died in 1739. By this marriage there were six children. Two years after M. Vincens' death she married Dupleix, her age being then thirty-three. Her only child by the great Administrator died shortly after its birth. For two years only did she remain to queen it at Chandernagore as Madame la Directrice as she, like Madame Deslandes, proudly styled herself when signing her name as godparent in the old baptismal registers. In 1741 Dupleix was transferred to Pondichery and if there was much regret on his side at parting from the little French settlement on the bank of the Hooghly, the pitch of prosperity to which he had raised it from such insignificant beginnings must have been a legitimate source of pride to the retiring Governor. In after years both he and Madame Dupleix must often have looked back to Chandernagore days as enshrining their happiest memories. Dark days were in store for Dupleix, days of official neglect and misunderstanding, made bitter by the lack of support and appreciation that his past service gave him every right to expect. After his death Madame Dupleix left India for France, only to die of grief at the lack of justice meted out to her beloved husband's memory. It was a sad ending for Chandernagore's most famous Governor and his wife Joanna Begum.

The departure of Dupleix with his wonderful energy, his powers of organisation, his keen commercial instincts and his understanding of the Indian mind was a great blow to Chandernagore. Deprived of his able leadership its prosperity rapidly declined. No successor was to be found of like energy and ability. New conditions, moreover, were arising that combined to retard French prospects and that needed the strong hand to cope with them. The Mahrattas were audaciously carrying their raids right into the heart of the Moghul's dominions and so disturbing all the country at the head of the Bay that trade was almost at a standstill. The growing prosperity of the English struck a further blow at the French settlement, crippled as it was by lack of capital and want of enterprise. Calcutta and Chandernagore were watching each other with jealous eyes measuring themselves against each other for the coming contest that was to decide the supremacy. Commercial rivalry was at its height. In 1750, the Council at Calcutta wrote to the Directors at home that "having received information that some blacks residing in this town were dealing with the French for goods proper to the European market, we told them that if we found any proof against any residing inside Your Honour's protection that such should suffer our utmost displeasure." On September 30th, 1757, Monsieur Renault, the Governor of Chandernagore, wrote that when he took charge some three years before the settlement was in debt to the extent of twenty-six or twenty-seven lacs and that only by pledging his personal credit had he been able to send back the following year three ships laden with rich cargoes. Glimpses of the decline of the French settlement are to be found too in the letters of the Dutch Council at Chinsura written to the Supreme Council at Batavia. In one, dated November the 24th, 1756, it is related with some contempt that the French in Bengal "have done no business there these last few years" and again in the following year when writing

to the Assembly in Holland, "what the French are about to send by Pondichery and the Danes by Tranquebara will be of but trifling importance."

Already fallen on evil days, Chandernagore was ill equipped to meet the storm from without that was about to fall upon it. Suspicious and unfriendly as the attitude of the French and English settlements had usually been, no open state of war had as yet existed between them. But in 1756 there began in Europe the long struggle known as the Seven Years War and the echoes of it spread to the little settlements on the banks of the Hooghly, throwing upon them while scarcely as yet firmly established in the face of Muhammadan opposition, all the burden of active warfare amongst themselves. When rumours of the outburst of the great European War reached Chandernagore, every effort was made to put it in a state of defence, but so unprepared was it that, according to one account, there were only 146 Europeans and 300 Sepoys available as a fighting force, while Fort Orleans was in no state to stand an attack. Measures, however, were hastily undertaken and the settlement which had as yet seen nothing of actual warfare busied itself with preparations to meet any attack that the stronger and more prosperous English settlement further down the river might make upon it. The English on their part were equally busy preparing both for defence and defiance, hastily manning Fort William and clearing out the Mahratta Ditch that protected it.

These warlike preparations quickly reached the ears of the Nawab Seraj-ud-dowla at Mushidabad and peremptory orders were at once sent both to Calcutta and Chandernagore that they should cease. Mr. Drake, the English Agent, at Calcutta, considering it to be no affair of the Nawab's, sent a reply that Seraj-ud-dowla chose to consider offensive and impertinent. The French Agent, more tactful and perhaps more conscious of the weakness of his position, replied that it was merely a case of

repairing Fort Orleans which had fallen into decay and that no offensive measures were contemplated. The result of this diplomatic reply was that the French escaped the wrath that fell upon the English, Seraj-ud-dowla contenting himself with seizing their boats for the passage of his troops across the river and levying upon them a fine of Rs. 34,000 when they refused to join him against the English. That they did refuse to give him their help against the English deserves ever to be remembered to their credit. Had they thrown in their lot with Seraj-ud-dowla their help might well have been the deciding factor, leaving them supreme among the European settlements in Bengal. Moreover they were well aware that hostilities were on the verge of breaking out between France and England which would inevitably lead to a life and death struggle between the French and English settlements in India, yet they refused to forestall the declaration of war and take their rivals at a disadvantage with the help of their common enemy. So far from this, they even offered the English their Fort as an asylum after Calcutta had been sacked by Seraj-ud-dowla.

It must have been with much fear and anxiety that the French heard of the fate that had befallen the English at the hands of Seraj-ud-dowla. They had escaped his wrath for the moment but they had refused him their help and they could hardly hope for favourable treatment now in the hour of his triumph. The fine that he had inflicted which they had been able to pay only owing to the fortunate arrival in the *St. Contest* of a shipment of three lacs from the French East India Company at home—was a slight punishment compared with that which had befallen the English, but there was no certainty that having driven the latter from the banks of the Hooghly his success might not encourage him to turn the foreigners out of Bengal altogether.

F. B. BRADLEY BIRT, I.C.S.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE DWELLING-PLACE OF LIGHT.—By Winston Churchill. (Macmillan's Empire Library.)

Those who are familiar with other novels by Mr. Winston Churchill will probably be a little disappointed with this one. There is hardly the depth of insight and earnestness of purpose, the vigour and general health, which one might have expected from the author of "The Inside of the Cup." But at the same time only a novelist of the first rank could have given us such vivid descriptions and such life-like characters as in the book before us. The novel is a study in contrasts. The greater part of the story is laid in a sordid manufacturing town in New England, where the population is made up of a few old American families, mostly of the mill-owning class, and a miscellaneous crowd of more recently arrived Jews, Poles, Italians and Germans. These latter have come for what they can get, and if they do not get what they want, the world of labour is disturbed and there are the seeds of tragedy. In the last part we are transported to the academic and almost Utopian atmosphere of Sillisten, where most wonderful people live and do unconventional deeds through which run threads of the purest gold of kindness. The connecting link between the two environments is Janet Bumpus, who finds herself in surroundings which are distasteful to her, but which fail to dominate her, however heavy may be the toll which they take from her impractical father, her matter-of-fact drudge of a mother and her frivolous, empty-headed and heartless sister. Like a flower behind a dusty window Janet's soul is stretching out towards the light. She is not satisfied with the ordinary pleasures of girls of her class, and her abilities raise her to a superior position where she finds herself exposed to new temptations and at the same time unprotected against them. She falls violently in love with her employer, one of the mill-owners, whose ultimate intentions towards her are honourable, but whose immediate treatment of her leads to disastrous results.

Her eyes are opened to his selfishness, and passionate revolt against him takes the place of love. To a certain extent she judges him harshly, but circumstances prevent a fuller understanding until it is too late. In her loneliness and misery Janet finds refuge in the friendly academic atmosphere of Sillisten, having been taken thither by a delightful literary man, named Insall, and his still more attractive friend, Mrs. Maturin. Here her nature unfolds and new possibilities of happiness open for her. But the burden of sorrow which she has brought with her from her earlier environment prevents the full realisation of this happiness and the book closes in sadness, although at the end the "dwelling-place of light" has been reached.

Janet is an altogether delightful person. Her character is complex, but the analysis of its complexity is convincing. The mill-owner, Ditmar, is also natural, but the same cannot be said of the higher-toned characters of the book. One would have liked to know them, but one would always be a little doubtful as to their reality. There is a certain strain of fatalism in the book, but its main idea—that environment, though it is much, is not everything—is well worked out. And the thought that human beings are often more sinned against than sinning is made the basis of an appeal for kindly judgments of those whom ordinary standards would condemn.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI.— Volume VI.

Mr. Dodwell is to be congratulated on the publication of the sixth volume of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. His careful editing has brought to light a series of documents which throw a flood of light on the inner history of Dupleix's governorship as well as on the general history of the Carnatic War. The chronological limit of the Diary ranges from 18th October 1748, just after Boscawen had raised the siege of Pondicherry, to 31st March 1750, when the armies of Chand Sahib and Nasir Jang had come face to face. In spite of two unfortunate gaps, the matter presented by the volume is of unique interest. For while all the more valuable passages had already appeared in the selections of M. Vinson coming down to close of the siege of Pondicherry and the repulse of the English in October 1748, "the present and the remaining instalments of the

Diary," as the able editor assures us, "have the freshness of unpublished matter."

The present volume of the Diary opens at a period when the prestige of the English was very low and Dupleix looked to their total extinction. The Diarist gives a vivid picture of the exhilaration of Dupleix who looms before us almost as an oriental Nawab? "As the retreat of the English a week ago was not duly celebrated at the time, to-day every Frenchman. . . . was invited to a feast. A French poem has been written in honour of M. Dupleix's valour and his victory over Boscawen, the English commander; there was a dance to-night (24th October 1748), and the poem was recited with great applause. . . . Unworthy as they are to eat with Frenchmen, yet the English prisoners also were invited to dine with the rest." A parallel picture reflected from the entry of 5th November is sufficient to expose the utter instability of the French hold over the Carnatic: "Madame Dupleix's peons still plunder the town; the sepoys are going into the best houses, and living there. . . . moreover they enter the houses of the poor and cruelly molest their women. Pondicherry is thus the abode of cruelty. . . . I cannot write all the terrible things that befell the town; so I will cease writing." The pathetic reticence of the Diarist is too eloquent to require any commentary. The wheel of Destiny began to turn imperceptibly and we find Dupleix in an unexpected psychology when the Diarist congratulated him on the 1st of January 1750: "The Governor replied, 'you may do this now, but you will not be able to next year.'" This time his prophecy happened to be tragically true; on the contrary when he declared that "Marhatta and Muslim would unite to expel the English from the Coromandel Coast" Dupleix proved to be a false prophet.

K. D. N.

THE COMING POLITY.—A Study in Reconstruction.
By Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes. (Williams
and Norgate.)

This is the first volume of a series on "The Making of the Future," the aim of which is to gather together elements of reconstructive doctrine and enunciate a body of truth

which shall have its roots in a contemplative study of the past, but, at the same time, afford practical guidance for the future. This book and its companion publications will plan some of the ways to *Eutopia*—not *Utopia*, be it observed. It embodies a revolt against the competitive aspect of life, and against a mechanical philosophy and a purely urban—and therefore artificial—economics. These latter tendencies have had their inevitable and tragic outcome in an excessively centralised Prussian imperialism, which in the sphere of thought has crushed the free spirit of the provincial University, and, by the promotion of undue specialisation, prevented the growth of an effective spirituality. In the sphere of practice they have produced, collectively, the “abject state” and, individually, both in Germany and elsewhere, have brought about destructive commercial competition. A healthier tendency is discoverable in the tradition of French social thought and especially in the writings of Le Play. He devotes attention to the “regional survey” and the importance of the “region” is the basic doctrine of Professor Patrick Geddes and his colleague. We may study a valley-section as we move downwards towards the sea and note the various occupations—those of hunter, shepherd, peasant, farmer, miner, fisherman, etc. These occupations convey their traditions and their influence to the town, which thus becomes the epitome of the region and the means whereby its life may be transmuted into higher phases. We must not think that we have left behind the more primitive occupations. The war, *e.g.*, has shown us how the sea-faring life may develop the qualities necessary for leadership of men and practical immediate efficiency. More generally we may say that the “hunter” has, in war, come to his own again, and just, as in the simpler life, the hunter gave place to the shepherd, or, in other words, one who took life, made way for one who preserved life, so the problem of future reconstruction will also be the conversion of the hunter into the shepherd, of the destroyer into the preserver of life. To borrow the phrase of William James, we shall have to discover the “moral equivalents of war.” The opportunity is obvious. “Through the redemptive quality of war,” say our authors, “the nation has shed not a little of its competitive individualism, and achieved a closer working of all together for the common good. How are we now to maintain and advance the sense of community, the energy of collective

effort, the self-abnegation of individuals and families? Clearly in the after-war polity, there must be arousal amongst all classes of a personal sense of definite responsibilities, including and transcending one's own life and work. There must be some vision, clear yet moving, of a better future."

The production of this deeper sense and clearer vision Professor Geddes conceives to be the function of the civic University,—the University Militant, as he calls it. It will not be a University of the older and the merely academic type, in which knowledge is sought merely for its own sake, which is out of touch with life, and whose ideal is, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, merely "knowing the best that has been said and done in the world." Such an ideal looks too much to the past; it is a meditation amongst the tombs. The Universities arose out of the life of the people, and their success must lie in a return to that life. Thus we cannot be content with a dominating and central intellectual tradition. Each region must have its University, and the occupations of the region must bring their practice to be purified by theory, and the theory must result in the greater efficiency of the practice. Schools of social science should be an integral part of every University, and the science must have direct application to the special needs of the district. We desire an active and living culture which must not be allowed to forget its regional and rustic origins. And in thus formulating a conception of its own possibilities each region will obtain a vision of an ideal for the nation as a whole. The distinction between a *Eutopia* and *Utopia* lies in the close relation of the former with practical needs. There we shall find abundant opportunity for directing the social energies which have been called forth by war into a more efficient and nobler public life than has heretofore existed. And we shall find in the reconstructed University ideal and in the resulting purification and moralisation of civic life the type of social organ which is adjusted to aid the birth of the better state of things.

The function of religion in the whole process must not be overlooked. We require not only production of social good, but protection against the Social Burden of Evil. Therefore some strengthening in the personal struggle with evil and some means of social purification are necessary. The Church Militant must co-operate with the University Militant and the tradition of spiritual healing

which has been handed down from time immemorial by the former must not be allowed to die away.

The book is the work of an enthusiast, who sometimes allows particular doctrines to dominate unduly his total conception; but it is a book which provides much material for thought. Its value is inspirational as well as instructive. A little more systematisation and expansion would no doubt add greatly to its value, but, as it stands, it is a book which should by no means be overlooked. It should do much to hasten the movement which it so earnestly advocates and we look forward with confident expectation to its successors in the series.

ANNE LULWORTH. By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick.
(Methuen's Colonial Library.)

The material for this story is supplied by the war. Anne is a daughter of the London suburb, that region which Mrs. Sidgwick is always able to depict with so much truth. Anne has her mild sentimental adventure in her native surroundings, but it is only when accident introduces her to a class socially above her own that she meets her hero. Round these two attractive figures are grouped several lesser characters who display varying degrees of snobbishness, priggishness and flippancy. The pacifist in the person of an extremely detestable young man is introduced in order to have a good deal of mud thrown at him. It seems to us that Mrs. Sidgwick might have better exercised her power by putting opinions apparently obnoxious to herself into the mouth of a character less unpleasant.

The story in spite of tragic incidents ends happily with the justification of the sincere characters and the discomfiture of the vulgar and malicious Mrs. Lanyon.

In this novel Mrs. Sidgwick is as usual pleasant and refined and satirises playfully modern phases of social life.

A SHEAF.—By John Galsworthy. (London : William Heinemann.)

There will be doubt in the minds of some as to whether there is sufficient reason for the publication of this collection of stray writings contributed by the author to various periodicals, but we hardly think that the doubt will maintain itself throughout a perusal of the volume. Some

of the articles are pre-historic in the sense that they relate to pre-war conditions, now changed almost out of all recognition, but the majority deal with considerations closely connected with the war and of paramount importance.

Mr. Galsworthy is severe, trenchant, and at times ironical and satirical. The two abuses which occupy his attention in the first part of the volume are our callous and cruel treatment of animals and the barbarous punishment of solitary imprisonment. His appeal for more humane methods in the necessary slaughter of animals, for the avoidance of vivisection as applied to animals closely associated with human beings, to whom we have imparted some almost human qualities, should surely bear some fruit, while the case which he makes out against the practice of solitary confinement seems based on clear evidence and almost unanswerable.

His passionate argument in favour of woman's suffrage is impressive but out of date for the simple reason that the privileges for which he contends have already, for the most part, been secured. His analysis of some of the pre-war causes of social unrest will draw attention to the exceedingly exclusive character of public school and University education of the older type, will exhibit the almost complete ignorance of many of the so-called upper classes in reference to the life of the masses, and will show the necessity for a reorganisation of education. Such reorganisation must necessarily be under the guidance of democracy, which has shown great ability in making use of its best minds for business and political purposes, but has been strangely neglectful of education, especially of the education which is calculated to develop spirituality. In regard to the highest of human interests Democracy might be said to "offer the spectacle of a man running down a road followed at a more and more respectful distance by his own soul."

By far the more powerful part of the book has reference to problems raised by the war. Mr. Galsworthy's attitude is that of the man who is reluctantly compelled to admit the necessity of the present war, but who is poignantly aware of the utter horror and tragedy of war in general, can find no words sufficiently scathing to express his indignation at those who speak of the glory of war, is fundamentally opposed to those who hold that

Britain must remain a military nation, and is by no means assured that in the midst of war we are preparing sufficiently for peace. In reference to his own particular sphere of literature he points out that the effect of war is not good. It may bring to the front certain writers who would otherwise have remained silent and give them the opportunity of vivid and effective writing, born of their own personal experience. But even in the past the masters of literature have been giving of their best, and their best has been the product of calm reflection and has not been forced out of them by the tragic pressure of events. The true artist revolts against what is expected of him and "frontal attacks designed to capture heroism and imprison it in art are almost always failures." We are aware of the heroic in individuals, and literature will not fail of appreciation, but we differ from the writers of the past in that we can no longer look on war in general as heroic. Even the simplest soldier is too intensely aware of the awful waste of the whole business. The same idea is emphasised in the remorseless analysis of the phrase "a war of exhaustion." What is it which is to be exhausted? Not money, not material resources, not the will of the fighting nations but simply human lives—"the human flesh will give out, in time—that is all: on which side it will give out first may be left to the child who can count up to two. No glory about this business—just ding-dong shambles."

And yet Mr. Galsworthy never falters in his belief that, things having been allowed to come to a certain pass, this war was necessary. His contention is that things should never have been allowed to come to this pass, and that it is our bounden duty even now to see that never again shall conditions arise which will make war inevitable. For him it would be heart breaking if from this tremendous cataclysm no lasting good were to be brought forth. He thinks that the idea of a millennium after the war is much too easily accepted. We have reached unity now. It is standing the strain of war but will it stand the strain of peace? "Nothing will be easier," he says, "than to take up again the peace life of Britain as it was, and worse than it was because coarsened by the passions of war." We must be on our guard against reaction. We shall not secure the future by developing into a military nation. This would simply excite the lasting bitter envy of the sixty-five millions of people over whom we hope to gain

the victory. With most sane people of the present time, Mr. Galsworthy considers the possibility of a league of nations—the united states of the world. For the effectiveness of this, machinery for securing delay will be necessary so that disputes may be subjected to arbitration. A certain amount of military force must be placed at the disposal of the league in order to enforce obedience. But economic boycott of those nations which are disloyal will probably be a more effective weapon, and most of all there is necessary, even now, the cultivation of the “will to peace” based on a recognition that war is an “excrescence on human life, a monstrous calamity and evil,” based on the resolve that never more shall a few men, burning with a desire for military conquest, have “the power to stint from millions their need of life on this wind-sweetened earth,” based on the determination to be worthy of the sacrifice of our “blessed dead” whose last and deepest thoughts, whether articulate or not, are not unfittingly expressed in the lines of the author of this volume.

“God, I am travelling out to death’s sea,
I, who exulted in sunshine and laughter,
Thought not of dying—death is such waste of me!
Grant me one comfort: Leave not the hereafter
Of mankind to war, as though I had died not.”

W. S. U.

PERIODICALS.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1918.

The leading article on “The United States and the War” by S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., of New York, sketches from an American point of view the process by which from the position of detachment held at the beginning of the war the United States has passed to that which it now occupies of whole-hearted sympathy with and support of the Allied cause, and epitomises the great efforts which the United States is engaged in making to end the war. “The Menace of Islam” by Frank Ballard calls attention to the rapid progress of Islam in different lands and points out those features of Islam which “make it the worst opponent that Christian faith has to face.” The author thinks that the religious neutrality of Christian or Western nations plays

into the hands of Islam and he reminds readers that in not a few cases these governments protect and even subsidise Moslem efforts and forbid Christian missions. Yet the dangers to all that is best in Christian civilisation from an extension of such a faith are so great that special efforts are called for to counteract its activity, and he urges the necessity of an expansion of Christian missionary effort among Moslems, suggesting that recent events in the Near East may have helped to open the door. He gives facts to show that missions to Moslems in the past have been far from unsuccessful and believes that increased and more systematic effort will be much more successful. An article on "The Burden of Alsace" by Leslie F. Church shows how Germany's effort to repress the spirit of Alsace during the last forty years has utterly failed and convinces the reader of the justice of the demand for the reunion of Alsace with France. Other articles are those on "The Ideals of the Soldier Poets," and "The Seamless Robe, a study in the unity of the mind of Christ."

The number contains the usual excellent reviews of recent books.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 294, OCTOBER 1918.

THE REPORT ON INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

BY THE HON'BLE MR. W. H. ARDEN WOOD.

THE Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms submitted to His Majesty's Government by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy is, as it was bound to be, a document of the greatest importance and interest. It has been most carefully written, and acknowledgments are handsomely made to Mr. W. E. Marr. for his assistance in drafting it. Mr. Marr is by no means the least successful of those whom the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace has from time to time tempted to translate him into English, and the agreeable literary qualities of the Report are no doubt largely due to his care and taste. No one can read the Report without being struck by its tone of sincerity and earnestness. As a controversial document it impresses by its consistent reasonableness. The questions at issue are considered from all points of view; difficulties are stated fully and with candour; and to state difficulties clearly is often to go some way towards solving them. But the conspicuous moderation of the Report does not mean indecision. The arguments used are conclusive against the unsatisfactory features of the Congress League Scheme. At the same time, as the Viceroy reminded the Legislative Council the other day, the proposals made by the authors of the Report have carried the political

advance right up to the line beyond which their principles forbid them to go. One cannot help wondering, as one reads the speeches of the members of the extreme school of Indian politicians delivered since the Report was published, if they have really studied it. If they have, its dispassionate tone and its obvious anxiety to do everything that can be done with safety and without delay to give effect to the announcement of 20th August has left them unmoved. Doubtless they glanced at the summary of the recommendations, and as a foregone conclusion found them "disappointing and unsatisfactory." Like the daughters of the horseleach in the Book of Proverbs, they must be ever crying "Give, give." On the other hand the tone of the European press and of the spokesmen of the European community, since the first excitement aroused by the publication of the announcement of 20th August died down, has been greatly ameliorated. It is plain from the newspapers, and the public speeches made, that the members of the non-official European community are prepared to go far in association with Government and moderate Indians in promoting the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. It is mainly a question of pace and of methods.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his recent speech in Council at Simla, laid down the proposition that the announcement of 20th August should be regarded as sacrosanct. As a matter of practical politics perhaps it must be, although too much importance should not, in the circumstances of the times, be attributed to the fact that it has not been challenged in Parliament. The real reason for taking the announcement as the determining factor in the present political situation is the failure of the Morley-Minto reforms. Something has to be done because things cannot remain as they are. Nevertheless there are many, and they include real and life-long lovers of India who

have served her with consistent devotion, who honestly believe that the country is not yet ripe for the steps that it is proposed to take, who think that there was something of political chicanery in the way in which the announcement of 20th August was sprung upon England and India, and that the haste with which the discussion of the proposals made has been forced on is greatly to be deprecated. The Hon'ble Mr. Ironside expressed a general feeling when he said in Council that the consideration of a report of the importance of the one in question was no work for the last hours of a long day's work in the plains. India, certainly, will not be the gainer if time be not taken for the full and careful consideration of the Report in all its aspects. The authors of the Report themselves in paragraph seven use such adjectives as "momentous," "colossal," "immense," in referring to the Announcement itself, the subsequent action to be taken, and its consequences; and if these epithets are soberly used, and the gravity of the words of paragraph five is real, undue haste in dealing with this matter will border on treason.

For those who are trying to think out their views upon the question of the proposed political reforms there is no better advice than that of Johnson to Boswell: "Clear your mind of cant." There is much temptation in politics to unreality in the use of words. What is called by the name of the thing, but is not the thing at all, may be accepted as the thing. It is quite possible for people to cry out for responsible government who do not know what responsible government in its full sense really means. The very term "responsible government," which is used throughout the Report to denote the form of government it is proposed to establish in India, is of no long standing as a political term. It is neither defined nor illustrated in the great *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is not to be found in the Index to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, nor it is used in Lord Morley's lately published *Recollections*. One is led

to ask why this term is used rather than the universally known and accepted term "representative government." The point is perhaps not one of great importance. Both terms practically denote the same thing when they are used in their full sense, but one emphasises one part of the connotation—responsibility, and the other another part of the connotation—representation. According to the Oxford English Dictionary "representative," as used in politics, means "holding the place of, and acting for, a larger body of persons (especially the whole people) in the work of governing or legislating;" and, according to Mill, "representative government" is "government by the whole people, or some numerous portion of them, exercising through deputies periodically elected by themselves, the ultimate controlling power, which, in every constitution, must reside somewhere. This ultimate power they must possess in all its completeness." The object in view is the expression of the will of the people. On the other hand, the term "responsible government" emphasises the fact that the representatives of the people are responsible to the people. It is cautiously defined in the Report as meaning, "first, that the members of the executive Government should be responsible to, because capable of being changed by, their constituents; and, secondly, that these constituents should exercise their power through the agency of their representatives in the assembly." Whichever term we use, and whatever definition we adopt, the real thing is the same. We are thinking of the mode of government that has assumed its present form in England as the result of centuries of struggle and adjustment in governing a people with an innate political sense: a political sense which has displayed itself more in the sturdy independence of character that has made them resist interference with their personal freedom, than in a desire to exercise power over others. It is a mode of government in which the people can exercise their will through the control they have over

the character of the legislature they elect, and the legislature has the character it has because its members are chosen by electors who vote on definite issues which are present to their consciousness usually as the result of party organization. It is therefore mainly government by public opinion. This form of government is both responsible and representative. It is responsible because the people can, if they distrust their representatives and the government they support, replace them by others; it is representative because the elected representatives do not stand for nonentities, but for constituents who have definite opinions as to the way in which the country should be governed. There may be, of course, imperfect examples of this form of government. You may have, as Canada had before the reforms made at the instance of Lord Durham, a fully representative assembly with an executive not responsible to it; or you may have a government wholly or partially responsible to an assembly that is not fully representative, as will be the case in India if the people of the country are not adequately represented in the new legislatures. It is obvious that in starting India on the road towards popular self-government, which is what responsible government ultimately means, it is essential to develop an electorate that will be truly representative of the people. It is not sufficient for this purpose that the means should be provided of collecting periodically a number of heads in polling booths. The authors of the Report are clearly conscious that the constitution of an electorate is the problem that has to be solved before reality can be given to their proposals, and they have wisely decided that the necessary preliminary survey must be entrusted to a special committee.

Lord Morley in his *Recollections* speaks of the chapter on the ideally best form of government in Mill's treatise on *Representative Government* as "so manly in spirit, so sure in the progress of the argument, so inexpugnable in its foundations." Mill's classic is unfortunately

more famous than known, but what so ardent and so philosophic a reformer has to say about the conditions under which genuine representative government is possible, deserves as much attention to-day as it did when it was written more than half a century ago. He says (the quotations are not continuous) "the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is rested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general." . . . He regards it as "wholly inadmissible that any person should participate in the suffrage without being able to read and write, and . . . perform the common operations of arithmetic. . . . Universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement. . . . No one but those in whom *à priori* theory has silenced common sense, will maintain, that power over others, over the whole community, should be imparted to people who have not acquired the commonest and most essential requisites for taking care of themselves; for pursuing intelligently their own interests, and those of the persons most nearly allied to them." . . . "Representative institutions are of little value, and may be made a mere instrument of tyranny and intrigue. . . . when the people either want the will or the capacity to fulfil the part which belongs to them in a representative constitution. When nobody, or only some small fraction feels the degree of interest in the general affairs of the State necessary to the formation of a public opinion, the electors will seldom make any use of the right of suffrage but to serve their private interests, or the interest of their locality, or of someone with whom they are connected as adherents or dependents. The small class who, in this state of public

feeling, gain the command of the representative body, for the most part use it solely as a means of seeking their fortune. If the executive is weak, the country is distracted by mere struggles for place; if strong, it makes itself despotic, at the cheap price of appeasing the representatives, or such of them as are capable of giving trouble, by a share of the spoil; and the only fruit produced by national representation is, that in addition to those who really govern, there is an assembly quartered on the public, and no abuse in which a portion of the assembly are interested is at all likely to be removed. Popular election thus practised, instead of a security against misgovernment, is but an additional wheel in its machinery. Besides these moral hindrances mechanical difficulties are often an insuperable impediment to forms of government. In the ancient world . . . there could be nothing like a regulated popular government, because there did not exist the physical conditions for the formation and propagation of a public opinion except among those who could be brought together to discuss public matters. This obstacle is generally thought to have ceased by the adoption of the representative system. But to surmount it completely required the press, and even the newspaper press."

The Indian peasant is perhaps less affected by public affairs than any man of his class in the world. He represents the result of centuries of personal and theocratic government, and, as history shows, theocratic states tend to be politically stationary, and their subjects are usually little interested in their own governments. The Indian peasant's idea of liberty probably goes no further than freedom from oppression, and his ideal of good government is a benevolent *ma bab* rule. The circumstances of his life have been such as to favour the development of the fatalist spirit; he has seen no obvious connexion of cause and effect in the phenomena that control the yield

of his crops and the incidence of disease; all these things, and the actual security of life and property have seemed to him largely the result of caprice. This *kismet* view of life is essentially anti-political. Hence the ryot is long suffering and not enterprising; he is without the instinct for intelligent combination, even in self-defence; and he recognizes it as no part of his duty to range himself energetically on the side of law and order. He "murmurs" when prices rise or when the tax collector exacts more than usual from him, but he does not break out into riot until he feels that the absolute essentials of his life are being placed somehow beyond his reach, or when maddened by oppression or by religious fanaticism. He is moreover exceedingly superstitious and liable to panic: witness the ease with which an exodus from Calcutta can be started. With this temperament, and in his present state of education, he certainly must be included among those whom Mill regarded as "unfit for more than a limited and qualified freedom." A people cannot exercise the duties imposed upon them by responsible government "who will not co-operate actively with the law and public authorities in the repression of evil doers . . . who are more disposed to shelter a criminal than to apprehend him; who . . . will perjure themselves to screen the man who has robbed them, rather than take trouble or expose themselves to vindictiveness by giving evidence against them, who, . . . if a man poniards another in the public street, pass by on the other side, because it is the business of the police to look to the matter, and it is safer not to interfere in what does not concern them." This was written some sixty years ago, and in a newspaper describing the Calcutta riots of last month we find it written "It is significant of the state of mind into which an Indian bazar and its occupants get, that no effort whatever was made by the people whose places were not attacked to help their neighbours, who were." General social intercourse

in ordinary daily life is severely limited by the caste system, and the seclusion of women, as well as by the difficulties of communication.

All this is against the formation of an active public opinion. There is not even much of the social effect of participation in common amusements. As the late Major Jack says in his sympathetic study of a Bengal district, "An Indian village affords no means of spending money upon amusements. It is impossible to take friends or family to the theatre or the picture palace or out to tea because in the whole district there are no theatres, picture palaces, or tea shops. It is impossible for the peasant to 'treat' his friend, as there are no inns or public-houses at which liquor can be purchased, and the convivial habits of Europe are no part of the social life of the East. Friendliness, when shown at all, is shown by inviting a man to have a pull at the family *hookah*, which costs the host nothing. Members of the family and other friends will occasionally visit a homestead and be entertained, but an entertainment of this simple kind is not a recognized method of social intercourse in a Bengal village."

The focus of news and the principal means of disseminating it in India is the market, and attendance on market days at the neighbouring markets is perhaps the peasant's chief amusement, for which he will sacrifice very unremuneratively much time and energy. But, though his market talk is mostly topical and trivial, it is almost his only way of getting into touch with any sort of public opinion. Certainly the politics of responsible government form no part of his interests; the Indian political leaders of the moment are not even a name to him. The plain truth is that an Indian peasant voter, capable of playing his part in a system of responsible government, has yet to be made. We are nowhere near the stage at which the mob, even a mob without votes, finds a political struggle a delightful excitement, and is by nature, as at

the Eatanswill election in *Pickwick Papers*, either 'blue' or 'buff,' and ready to break the heads of the obnoxious opposite party for the sheer fun of it. But then in England it is true

"That every boy and every gal
That's born into the world alive
Is either a little Liberal
Or else a little Conservative."

or was when Gilbert wrote.

Plainly the most important work to be done in inaugurating the beginnings of responsible government will be the education of the future masters of India—the Indian proletariat; and it must be admitted that Indian politicians have consistently advocated the diffusion of primary education among the people as a whole, an altruistic proposal that is at least courageous. This task will tax to its utmost capacity the political wisdom and the administrative skill of the new governments. The education given must follow no stereotyped lines; it must be human and practical, that is, suited to the circumstances of the country and the people, and it must not be slavishly literary. A new class of schoolmaster will have to be called into existence. For if the diffusion of primary education merely serves to bring into existence an enormously increased number of candidates for the *bhadralok* class the political consequences will be serious. The danger will be minimised if the education given is suited to the ryot's needs, and if it is universal, for then its effects will be less likely to be disintegrating. The cost will be enormous, and it remains to be seen whether the new Councils will have the courage to face it. But it is the price that has to be paid for responsible government. Equally important will be the elementary political education given by associating the people over the length and breadth of the land with the work of local self-government. On both these vital questions the Report speaks with no

uncertain voice. "Educational extension and reform must inevitably play an important part in the political progress of the country." "Our first and immediate task is to make a living reality of local self-government." "Everything that tends to waken the Indian ryot's intelligence, that helps him to be an independent, self-determining man, everything that breaks down the barriers between communities, and makes men regard each other as neighbours, and not as the wearers of some caste or creed insignia, hasten on the day when self-government within the Empire will be attained."

A striking quotation in the Report, para. 178, from Sir Thomas Munro, who wrote one hundred and twenty years ago, puts forward alternative possibilities in the dealings of the English with India. Sir Thomas wrote, "What is to be the final result of our arrangements on the character of the people? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, or are we to endeavour to raise their character, to render them worthy of filling higher stations in the management of their country, and devising plans for their improvement? . . . We should look on India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it." These noble words of a far-seeing administrator confront us with something of a dilemma. Did the Civil Service of those days accept the enlightened policy advocated by Sir Thomas? If they did, it is melancholy to realize how little progress on the lines he favoured has been achieved. Where lies the fault? Is it that he overestimated the potentialities of the Indian, or is it that the bureaucracy, with all its conscientious devotion and industry, has lacked the

imagination necessary to secure the highest form of success in dealing with practical affairs?

The Report says "At present electorates of a general character hardly exist." But "complete responsible government essentially depends upon the existence of an electorate sufficiently active and cognizant of affairs to hold their representatives effectively to account." Taking it for granted that any really wide franchise is at present impossible it has to be seen what sort of electorate is possible, and how far a legislature responsible to such an electorate would fulfil the conditions of responsible government. It will be useful, as providing a standard, to remember that the enfranchised commons of Great Britain in 1910 numbered $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of 43 millions. The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter has made an interesting and valuable study of this question for Bengal, and has concluded that an electorate of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions out of a population of 45 millions would be possible. Mr. Mitter's basis of franchise is contribution to the revenue, with favourable terms to literates and especially literates in English. He admits to the franchise illiterates who are comparatively well-to-do, on the ground that shrewd men, capable of managing successfully their own affairs, are capable of the proper use of a vote. This scarcely follows. Experience shows that there is no necessary connexion between successful attention to private interests, and the sense of responsibility in public affairs and regard for the public good. But other circumstances will for some time render the exercise of the suffrage by mofussil voters impracticable. How is any sort of genuine political opinion possible among voters scattered about the mofussil where the means of communication are so poor? At present political questions do not exist for them. And if they did how would they be put before them? About $2\frac{1}{2}$ million males are returned as literate in Bengal; but what does this mean? Those

who do read for their own pleasure do not read the newspapers. It appears that the percentage of readers who read newspapers is extraordinarily small. Moreover the newspapers that have a mofussil circulation are not political organs. The fact is that at present there are no party politics in the proper sense of the word in India. The political education of the potential voter has yet to begin, and will depend more than anything else for its success on the development of a good party system. For the party system, whatever its drawbacks, is a means of political education. It enables the average voter to understand the diversities of view in public affairs, and to have put strongly before him, in a way suitable to his intelligence, the various views that are held, so that he can range himself behind the leader who most appeals to his ideas of what is good for himself and the country. But it is difficult to conceive on what grounds the rival candidates in the first contested election for an Indian extra-municipal constituency would commend themselves to the voters, or, indeed, make them take any interest whatsoever in the election. Candidates would have to solicit "votes and interests" on the merely personal ground that "Codlin's the friend, not Short," and the physical obstacles to a personal canvass would daunt any but the stoutest candidates. On the whole it seems probable that practical considerations must reduce considerably Mr. Mitter's estimate of the number of voters who could exercise the suffrage with any sort of interest and sense of responsibility. It really seems as though it would be best for the present to be content with borough constituencies, and to defer the establishment of extra-municipal constituencies to a later stage. There are 113 municipalities in Bengal, of which 47 have a population of about 15,000. A constituency of 15,000 ought to provide from 500 to 1,000 voters, and with these numbers it would be possible to make a

beginning of party organisation with the object of educating the voters in the towns.

A legislature with a large majority of elected members, elected on the narrow franchise which is all that at present seems possible, would give a preponderance of power to the small educated class composed almost exclusively of members of the higher Hindu castes. But the authors of the Report say "We regard the development of a broad franchise as the arch on which the edifice of self-government must be raised; for we have no intention that our reforms should result merely in the transfer of powers from a bureaucracy to an oligarchy." Obviously the time when complete self-government will be possible in India will not be reached until the electorate in India bears a somewhat similar proportion to the total population that it does in countries that already have a system of popular self-government, and that, again, will not be possible until a sound system of universal primary education has been thoroughly established.

What in the meantime is to be the composition of the Councils? It will be contended that the elected majority should be elected by the provisional electorates, but this would mean that the mass of the people would be unrepresented. We should have a partially responsible government dependent, so far as it was responsible, upon a legislature only partially representative. Educated Indians of course claim that they are the proper persons to represent the illiterate classes, and that as an elected majority in the legislature they would do so. They claim that the European official must by his lack of imagination and comparative lack of skill in tongues be gravely handicapped in interpreting the thoughts and desires of an Asiatic people, or, as Mrs. Besant puts it "She (India) knows her own difficulties and needs far more than any one else. Educated India is more fitted to protect the wants of India than those with alien blood,

alien customs, and alien ways of thinking." Surely this is cant: cant of the same order that is used when political orators speak of the Government mistrusting the "people," or when they speak of the Indian "nation" . . . or the requirements of "the country," or "the agony of a race that is conscious of its rights, and struggling to realize them." Is it likely that a member of a class which throughout history has regarded itself as different from the ryot not so much in degree as in kind, can represent his interests as fairly as the official who is disinterested, who is in sympathy with him, and whose business it is to conserve his interests and look after his welfare? It is as true to-day as it ever was, that when what the ryot wants is justice, he seeks it from the British official, and, if he understood what representation was, he would certainly rather be represented by his district officer than by any other person, except perhaps sometimes by an old missionary. His real sentiments towards those who now claim to be his natural representatives may be found in his homely proverbs.

"The political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid, and may be a very difficult, process. Till it is complete he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is; and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands, or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests, we must retain power to protect him." By far the best way of securing this end is to have the ryot specifically represented in the Councils, and it is the paramount duty of the European Community in India to see that in the conflict of interests and in the struggle for power the ryot is not left in the lurch.

The necessity in justice of adequately representing in the new Councils the extraordinarily various elements of the population of India, inevitably brings up the question of communal representation. The authors of the Report

regard this as the most difficult question which arises in connexion with the elected assemblies, and they frankly express their dislike of communal electorates and communal representation. They state fairly the reasons adduced in favour of this special representation: thus—“For a people so divided by race, religion, and caste as Indians are, and unable as they are to consider the interests of any but their own section, a system of communal and class representation is not merely inevitable, but actually the best. It evokes and applies the principle of democracy over the widest range over which it is actually alive at all by appealing to the instincts which are strongest; we must hope to develop the finer, which are also at present the weaker, instincts by using the forces that really count. Communal representation is an inevitable, and even a healthy stage in the development of a non-political people.” These seem good arguments: what attempt is made to controvert them? First, by an appeal to history; as follows:—“Responsible government has only developed where there was an effective sense of the common interests, and a bond compounded of community of race, religion, and language, . . . where blood and religion had ceased to assert a rival claim with the State to a citizen’s allegiance.” Then, assuming the converse of this to be true, namely, that responsible government based upon a general electorate will produce these desirable characteristics in peoples of different races, languages, and religions, the conclusion is reached that communal electorates are opposed to the teaching of history. But is not this a fallacious use of history? Does not history teach that in certain conjunctions of human affairs such and such things have happened in the past, and, therefore, that analogous happenings may reasonably be expected again when the circumstances are really similar? Responsible government was evolved in England because the circumstances were favourable; the fittest

form of government for the English people was the one that survived. And, of course, when the circumstances were not favourable, as in India, responsible government did not develop and could not develop, and will be, if imposed on India, an exotic. The only lesson we have the right to draw from history in this matter is this, that if, as Englishmen, we believe in responsible government as the best government that we know, we are justified in trying to facilitate its establishment when the circumstances are analogous to those in which responsible government has developed elsewhere - but not otherwise. We are not justified in forcing the institutions of responsible government upon millions of people who have not asked for them and do not want them, in order that they may be eventually educated by them up to the point of understanding them and wanting them.

Secondly, "Communal electorates perpetuate class divisions." Is this necessarily true in the end? May it not be urged with at least equal plausibility that the association, in the exercise of public functions, of those who represent the multifarious interests of the peoples and communities of India, would tend to make them increasingly liberal-minded, more conscious of what they have in common, less mindful of their differences? As a matter of fact and experience is not this commonly the case when conscientious but reasonable opponents are brought by circumstances to work together? Asperities are softened, prejudices ameliorated, and a new tone pervades their relations which spreads by diffusion. Again, it is said that "division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens." *A priori* this seems possible. But the division by creeds and classes already exists; what now concerns us is representation by creeds and classes, and representatives of creeds and classes will be mainly engaged in the Councils in work

that will only incidentally have to do with creeds and classes. Their outlook will inevitably become more national, and less merely partisan.

The third objection is that "the communal system stereotypes existing relations." This seems a particular case of the last objection. The case is taken of a minority that is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state. But will it be possible for such a minority in the stirring times to come to settle down, as is anticipated, into a feeling of satisfied security? Movement, progress, will be in the air, and weak minorities will be compelled to bestir themselves—or go under. But there are minorities that are not weak and backward. The European community is one, and in that case, at any rate, the argument used does not apply. The truth is that in trying to introduce responsible government into India we are trying to transplant political institutions to an uncongenial soil. But if we are determined to make the attempt, because of "the faith that is now in us" that the policy embodied in the announcement of 20th August is "the only possible policy for India," and because "we believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have given India cannot be prolonged without damage to her national life; that we have a richer gift to her people than any we have yet bestowed on them; that nationhood within the Empire represents something better than anything India has hitherto attained; that the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which such Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for her highest good;" then, surely, it will be political wisdom to take the line of least resistance. We have to make people who are apathetic and ignorant take an interest in an entirely new order of things, and the most promising way of attempting this is by utilizing the interests they already have as the beginning of movement

towards interests that are, though cognate in kind, at present unknown to them—interest in sect and community slowly developing into interest in the larger wholes of province and state. But there are other arguments in favour of communal representation that deserve consideration. It is not so certain that this form of representation is characteristic of an immature stage in the development of political institutions. There are clear tendencies in modern politics towards the establishment of the “group” as a political unit. Indeed, representation in the House of Commons itself, though nominally representation on a territorial basis, tends in practice to become communal. What do the Irish and the Labour representatives represent? We also have combinations of members representing special interests such as the “cotton” interest, the “brewing” interest, and so on. In India for many years to come questions of the greatest difficulty and delicacy are bound to arise as between the different races and creeds. Territorial representation will raise these questions in the market place. Communal representation will raise them in what it is to be hoped will be the calmer and saner atmosphere of the Councils. Again, the communal constituency will necessarily be more homogeneous than the territorial constituency, and the candidate elected will therefore be more representative of the electors. Further, the communal constituency will afford much less opportunity for the “carpet-bagger,” and the “professional agitator,” and will give much less opening for corruption in the conduct of the elections. It is a reasonable conclusion that if a liberal proportion of the elected representatives in the new Councils are representatives of communities and organized interests, the Councils will be more responsible and more competent.

Finally, the authors of the Report themselves, in deciding to continue communal representation in the case of Muhammadans, and in recommending it to be adopted

in the case of the Sikhs, give the strongest practical proof that they do not consider the arguments against communal representation to be of overwhelming validity.

Every careful reader of the Report must be impressed with the earnest desire of its authors to find a way of satisfying the legitimate political aspirations of educated Indians. Certainly no Englishman will be disposed to deny that it is natural and legitimate that Indians should desire to rule in their own house, to participate in the government of their own country, not merely as constituting the machinery of government, which they already predominantly do, but also, as controllers of it. Numerous quotations might be made to show how conscious the authors of the Report are of the extreme sensitiveness of educated Indians in this respect. They speak of "advocacy of progress," and "demands steadily more insistent for a form of government which would leave Indians free to rule India in a manner consistent with Indian ideas," and of 'the "spirit of liberty" as 'abroad and active.' Britain is fighting on the side of liberty, and it is urged that Britain cannot deny to the people of India that for which she is herself fighting in Europe." "There is a movement in favour of what we may call the liberalization of existing institutions" and "a feeling against personal rule." The views thus expressed may not be always consistent with one another, but they are at any rate symptomatic, and the authors of the Report are sympathetic. On the other hand the Report gives no encouragement whatever to proposals for rash and hasty advance. The authors hold strongly that the pace of advance must conform with the progress made in the general education of the people, and with the progress of the political education both of the masses and their would-be representatives. "They lament the uneven distribution of educational advance," and consider that "some of the most difficult factors in the present situation would have

been avoided if in good time steps had been taken to prevent the wide divorce which has occurred between the educated minority and the illiterate majority." "Where the great mass of the population is illiterate, as is unfortunately the case all over India, political ideas may be expected only to spread slowly, and the progress of political education to be impeded." "The political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid, and may be a very difficult process." And yet "political leaders, if they are to escape the charge of representing only the interests of the classes to which they themselves belong, must be able to appeal to, and be understood by, the masses of their fellow-countrymen." It is common knowledge that this, at present, is very far from being the case. The political education of even the literate class is deplorably backward. "The habit of considering political issues as issues to be decided by a man's own judgment, of realizing the value of the proper use of a vote, and of judging candidates with regard to their fitness to represent the elector's views have all to be acquired," and there is "the prospect of the immense burdens of government being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands." Hence limitations of powers are necessary because of the obvious fact that "time is necessary in order to train both representatives and electorates for the work we desire them to undertake." It is therefore "of the utmost importance to the constitutional progress of the country that every effort should be made in local bodies to extend the franchise, to arouse interest in elections and to develop local committees, so that education in citizenship may be extended, and everywhere begin in a practical manner." A consummation devoutly to be wished! The authors of the Report have a robust faith in the method of teaching men to bear responsibility by imposing it upon them, and in this schoolmasters who are familiar with the monitorial system will be with them. But material counts for something; the

method is not always successful; and the proposition that "the exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it" is not universally true.

The Report remarks upon a certain irresponsibility shown in the present, the Morley-Minto Councils, and ascribes it, perhaps rightly, to the fact that there is no real burden of responsibility devolving upon the members. The love of power for its own sake is, probably for historical reasons, stronger in the Oriental than in the European, and the non-official members of the Councils, when they wish to carry resolutions to which the Government is opposed, find themselves frequently balked by the official *bloc*. They are chagrined at their want of real power, and the effect has been seen in the extraordinary zest the Councils have displayed in inflicting, when possible, a defeat upon Government, and in the way Indian members, ordinarily of different ways of thinking, have acted together for this end. Hence there has also been an unfortunate tendency to racial cleavage in the Councils, and this breeds an atmosphere in which questions are not decided on their real merits, and which is, therefore, inimical to the public good. Want of political experience, or the lack of a sense of the fitness of things, or the mere wish to appear active as legislators, may account for the occasional abuse of the right of interpellation. The Report remarks upon the tendency to ask for information which could be ascertained from published reports, and to require elaborate statistical information which is of no practical value.

It is perhaps idle to conjecture what the spirit of the new Councils will be. The number of non-official members is to be so largely increased that it is impossible to form any estimate of their calibre, or, in the absence of knowledge of the composition of the Councils, to anticipate the character of the legislatures they will constitute. But this is certain, that if a scheme of reforms is adopted which

follows at all closely the lines laid down in the Report, the members of the new Councils will have to work together with high purpose and an unselfish regard for the public good, and with courage to abstain from the arts which merely make for popularity, if their work is to be for the good of India. India is not yet a progressive country. Japan is, and is to-day the only progressive country in the East because her people have worked wholeheartedly with their Government to emancipate themselves from their ancient disabilities. India has yet to do this, and when impatience is felt with her rulers it will be right to remember what her characteristic disabilities are. Some have already been mentioned. Besides these the nearly universal repugnance to taking life, which is consistent with an almost incredible degree of indifference to the sufferings of dumb animals, makes it almost impossible to organize scientific campaigns against deadly disease both in human beings and in animals. For the same reason the country suffers continually serious economic loss owing to the retention on the land of worn out and useless domestic animals. The deadly rinderpest cannot be dealt with as in other civilized countries because the regulations that it would be necessary to enforce would be regarded as intolerable. It is with difficulty that sick people can be induced to avail themselves of the resources of medical science in the public hospitals; sanitary regulations are hard to enforce because the people are slaves to ancestral custom, and do not believe in them; and it is possible to hear a member of a Legislative Council, who would certainly never protest against the pollution of a river with natural sewage, objecting strongly to the discharge into it of the effluent from septic tanks. It remains to be seen what the attempt to convert India into

‘A happy land where circulating power

Flows through each member of the embodied state.’

will do for her further uplift.

W. H. ARDEN WOOD.

La Martinière, Calcutta,

THE SANTALS.

BY J. M. MACPHAIL, M.A., M.D.

THE Apostle Paul divided the population of the world as he knew it into three classes,—Jews, Greeks and barbarians. A similar classification, from the religious point of view, may be made of the inhabitants of our Indian Empire. There are some eighty million monotheistic Mohammedans, who are in many respects similar to the Jews. They are “people of the Book,” as they proudly assert ; they profess a zealous belief in the One God, and they denounce idolatry. Then there are some two hundred million Hindus, who like the Greeks of old are polytheists, filling earth and sea and sky with their gods innumerable. There are Parsis, Sikhs and Jains, the first representing Zoroastrianism, imported from Persia, while the two latter are the fruits of reform movements within Hinduism towards a more spiritual religion. But the Barbarians, next to the Hindus and Mohammedans, form numerically a more important group, although vastly inferior to those who have just been named in social position. They are the survivors of the old Dravidian people whom the Aryans found in India when they invaded the land. Most of these tribes have been gradually absorbed into the Hindu system. They have become hewers of wood and drawers of water, forming the great mass of “untouchables” who do the menial work,—cow keepers, scavengers, leather workers, etc.—described by the late Sir William Hunter as “semi-Hinduised aborigines.” Some of them, however, perhaps nine or ten millions in all, have preserved their independence. They have retreated before the advance of civilisation into the hills and forests, where they still lead a primitive life, eking out the scanty living they get

by cultivation, by hunting wild animals and gathering wild fruits, while their worship is still the simple fetish of their forefathers. "The heathen in his blindness bows down to stocks and stones" remains to-day an exact description of the religion of these jungle tribes.

Groups of these aborigines are found in nearly every province of India. There are the Bhils in Rajputana and parts of Western India, Gonds in the Central Provinces, Todas and other tribes in the South. The Santals, however, are by far the largest of them and at the same time probably the most typical. They have always, it would seem, been a wandering people, and they have traditions of a time when they were powerful and prosperous, with a country and kings of their own ; but if such a state of things ever existed it must have been at a very remote period. For more than a hundred years, the home of the Santal people has been in Bengal, but when the Province was partitioned in 1911 most of the country in which they are found was included in the new Province of Bihar and Orissa. The Santal country may be said to lie in the corner formed by the Ganges, flowing from west to east, and its off-shoot the Hooghly, flowing from north to south into the Bay of Bengal. In recent years, however, the Santals have shewn a tendency to cross the Ganges, which once they regarded as their northern frontier, and to emigrate into the more fertile regions of Eastern Bengal and the tea-growing districts of Darjeeling and Assam. During the war they have been the first to respond to the Government's appeal for porters and labourers, and some fifty thousand of them are serving their country as road-makers and carriers in Mesopotamia. There are over two million of them in all, and as they show a rate of increase considerably in excess of that of the general population, there can be little doubt that they will contribute no mean share to the future development of the Indian Empire. Free from caste restrictions, and from the debilitating

influence of infant marriage, they make useful workers, and are in constant demand in the tea-gardens, the coal-mines, and other centres of industry. The Santal's ideal, however, is agriculture. The work in which he excels is reclaiming waste land. He will settle on some stony hillside where even his goats find a difficulty in getting food to eat. He will gradually clear the jungle, raising first a crop of Indian corn or millet, and then terrace-up the hillside or dam the outlet of a small valley to form fields for rice, which the Indian cultivator, as a rule, prefers to any other crop. If he goes to dig coal or to pick tea, it is usually with the hope of saving a little money to invest in cattle and in land. It may be said of the Santal, in fact, what Sir Walter Scott said of the Scot, that as soon as he gets his head above water, he turns it towards land. It is not so easy, however, for the Santal to get his head above water. No one suffers more than he does from the besetting evil of the East, indebtedness to the rapacious money-lender. He has probably inherited a debt from his father, to whom it was bequeathed by his grandfather, successive generations of cultivators being practically enslaved to successive generations of money-lenders. The debt in the first instance may have been only a few shillings or a small amount of grain; but it bore interest at perhaps three or four hundred per cent. and the money-lender did not press for payment. It suited him better to let the debt accumulate till it was worth his while to enforce payment. So it comes to pass that often, when the Santal has at last begun to get good crops as the result of his many years of labour, he finds that he is sold up by his accommodating money-lender, and he retreats further into the jungle to begin the process over again. There is a common system in vogue by which a man pledges his labour, without wage, as payment of interest on a debt, and under it the unfortunate debtor never gets the opportunity of earning any money. No British court of justice, it is true, would

recognise a bond of this kind as legal ; but the debtor does not know this, and even if he did he would probably be afraid to offend his master by claiming freedom from the yoke.

A Santal village consists, as a rule, of one long but by no means unlovely street. The houses all stand separate from each other, and each is surrounded by a garden. The street is shaded by trees and is kept fairly clean. Two objects which are nearly always found are a rude hut or village temple, sacred to the spirits of the deceased village chiefs, and a very primitive oil press, consisting of two logs of wood which are pressed together by leverage to extract the oil from the seeds that have been placed between them. At the end of the village street is the sacred grove, dedicated to the demon gods, where at festival times sacrifices are offered to them. Every village has its chief, who holds the lease of the entire village from the landlord and sublets it to the cultivators. He is also the head of the social system, and holds patriarchal sway, with the help of four or five of the more elderly men. There is an over-chief to a group of villages, and a still higher authority who is regarded as chief of the entire country side. In the disputes over land, debt, marriage, divorce, inheritance, division of property, and other matters that are submitted for decision to the village chief and his assessors, it is permissible to appeal to a higher court consisting of a group of village chiefs under the presidency of the over-chief and from his court again to one of which the chief of the district is chairman. But the social system of the Santals is essentially democratic. The final decision in any dispute rests with the entire community. In the hot season, in April or May, the Santals assemble in thousands for their big annual hunts, when for days they sweep the whole forest. At night, during these big hunts, they camp under the forest trees and anyone who has a grievance for which he has failed to get redress at the

local courts is free to place the matter before the crowd, and their decision is regarded as beyond appeal.

The Santal is dark in complexion, with coarse, often curly, black hair, and features of what have been described as the "blubbery type,"—nose generally broad and depressed, mouth large, lips very full and projecting, and cheek bones moderately prominent. He is sturdily built, with fine muscular development. He is inclined to be lazy, but makes on the whole a good worker when the spirit moves him, and is capable of great physical endurance. Perhaps the best way to describe the life he leads and his manners and customs,—as far as it is possible to do this within the limits of a single article,—is to follow his history, very briefly, from the cradle to the grave, it being always understood, however, that the Santal has neither a cradle nor a grave.

One of the most notable characteristics of the Santal is that he never calls a spade a spade if he can help it, and even to describe it as an agricultural instrument is much too prosaic for his taste. He talks in parables, and his ordinary, every-day conversation is more akin to poetry than to prose. When a Santal child is born, the event is announced in the formal phrase "A new friend has come to us." On hearing this news the correct thing to do is to enquire, "Does the new friend carry on the head or on the shoulder?" The women carry their burdens almost invariably on their heads; the men suspend theirs from the ends of a pole or stout bamboo, which they balance on the shoulder. So a "new friend who carries on the shoulder" is a baby boy, and "one who carries on the head" is a girl. The first thing a Santal mother does with her infant, is to rub it all over with oil and put it out in the sun to frizzle. This, she says, makes it hardy and proof against sunstroke. When the child is eight days old, a somewhat elaborate naming ceremony takes place. The child, if a firstborn, and a boy, receives the same name as that of his paternal

grandfather: the firstborn daughter receives the name of her maternal grandmother.

There is, however, a curious superstition among the Santals regarding names. The name that is publicly given to the child is not to be regarded as the real name: because if the evil spirits were to learn the child's real name they would exercise their spell over it. They would call it by its name, and it would have to go. So there is a general understanding that the name by which the child is generally known is not the real name, but only a "blind" to throw the evil spirits off the scent. The name by which the child is generally known is called the "upper name;" the real name, the "inner name," is kept a secret. There is another instance of this effort to outwit the evil spirits which is found in connection with the household demon. In addition to a multitude of demons which are common property, there is a special household or domestic demon connected with every family. Its name is kept a secret by the head of the house till just before he dies. Then he whispers it to his eldest son. The object of this secrecy is not to give offence to other demons, who are all consumed by jealousy, by letting them know what demon is honoured by the patronage of this particular family.

For the first few years the only article of clothing worn by a Santal child is a string tied round the waist. This is said to act as an automatic safeguard against overindulgence. When the child has eaten sufficient food, the string becomes comfortably tight: if this limit is exceeded, it is uncomfortable. Very often a little brass bell is tied to the string. As long as the mother hears the bell tinkling, she knows the child is playing about all right. If she no longer hears the bell, the matter requires her attention. The child may have chased a butterfly too far into the jungle, or fallen into a pool of water, or been enticed to a neighbour's house, and must be searched for and brought back.

The Santal boy's first toy consists of a bow and arrows, and his ambition is to join his father in hunting wild animals in the jungle. Armed only with bow and arrow, the Santal will face the tiger or the leopard or any other wild beast, and the women are as brave as the men. The Santal child very soon begins to take his share in the work of the farm. The boys learn to hold the plough, the wooden plough, drawn by oxen, with which Abraham ploughed the plains of Mamre. Both boys and girls spend most of their time herding the cattle. In a village of moderate size all the cattle are herded in common. They are driven out to the jungle to graze in the morning, brought into their sheds for a couple of hours at midday, taken out again in the afternoon and brought home again at sunset. The Santal children acquire a very remarkable power over the cattle. A little girl of six or seven, standing on a hillock, will order the herds about as a general manœuvres his troops. At the word of command the cows or the sheep or the goats or the pigs will advance or retreat and turn this way or that. At the given signal they will turn their faces homeward, and as the crowd is driven up the village street each beast finds its own way into its master's house. The buffaloes follow a slightly different programme from the cows. They are less able to bear the heat of the sun, and they are kept longer under shade during the day and are kept out to graze for about two hours later in the evening. There are special duties which fall to the girls. It is the daughter of the house who brings the water from the spring or well or river. The Santals attach the utmost importance to their water supply. When a young bride is brought home, she goes through a form of marriage to the spirit of the village well, the idea being that it is advisable to keep this demon in a good temper by a liberal supply of brides ; otherwise the water supply, over which he presides, will bring disease and death instead of health and happiness. There is a

wholesome^{२५} prejudice against stale water. The waterpots are emptied and replenished with a fresh supply regularly twice each day. It is the duty of the girls, too, to gather every day the leaves of the jungle trees that are stitched together by thorns and twigs to serve as plates,—a fresh supply for each of the two daily meals,—or made into drinking cups. They gather the firewood, too, and the wild fruits and flowers, roots and leaves, that augment the bill of fare.

Every Santal boy is branded with the mark of the tribe. Some time before the age of puberty an odd number of marks, one, three, five or seven, are made on the outer aspect of the left forearm by means of a twist of burning rag, ashes being rubbed into the wounds to ensure that a distinct scar will be left. The girls are not marked in this way, but they are tattooed on the breast. There is a superstition among the people that if males and females are not marked in this way, in the next world they will be attacked by worms as thick as the trunks of trees.

Infant marriage is not a Santal custom, but marriage is looked upon as inevitable; it is as much a matter of course as eating and drinking. It takes place as a rule while the young folks are in their 'teens. The initiative is almost invariably taken, not by the young people themselves, but by their parents or grandparents. They, however, do not negotiate directly, but through intermediaries. It is very seldom that a bride is sought for in the same village as that in which the bridegroom resides. Another rule is that the bride and 'bridegroom must belong to different septs. The Santals are divided among themselves into twelve septs, and one of the gravest crimes a Santal can commit is to compromise himself with a girl of his own sept. Marriage in such cases is not to be thought of, and the youth is usually punished by being made to pay a sufficient sum of money to induce some one else to take

the girl as his wife. If a couple of the same sept do marry, they are outlawed from the tribe.

The ceremonies connected with a Santal marriage are elaborate and prolonged, and some of them are very pretty. Everything goes by rule, each phrase used throughout the negotiations and the celebrations being according to prescribed form. The party in search of a bride go to a village and ask the people "Have you any pearls to sell?" The reply is, "That depends upon the quality of your diamonds." They go on talking in parables until a bargain is made and the price settled and the date fixed. Marriage is largely a business transaction, like the selling or buying of cattle. In fact "buying the bride" is the common term used to describe an ordinary marriage. The usual price of a bride is five rupees, but a good many presents, of cloth, brass vessels and cattle, are exchanged in addition. Widows are allowed to marry, and are sold at half-price, two rupees, eight annas, the Santals holding the high doctrine that marriage is not only for time but for eternity. The widow looks forward to rejoining her husband in the next world, but she is free to marry again, for this life only, at a corresponding reduction in price. The arrangements made by the negotiating parties having been approved of, a meeting of both families is arranged to clinch the bargain and to fix the date of the wedding. Two pieces of string are taken, a knot is tied in each for each day that is to elapse before the day on which the real knot is to be tied. The parties separate, each taking one of the strings. Every day a knot is untied, and when the last knot is reached everybody knows that the wedding day has arrived.

The ceremony itself is celebrated with dancing and singing and the drinking of rice beer, with little intermission, for several days and nights. A more serious part of the proceedings takes place towards the end when the young couple, seated in the centre of the company, receive

admonitions regarding the conduct that becomes them as husband and wife. To the bridegroom the address given is in the following terms:—"Up till to-day you have been free to come and go. Wherever night overtook you, there you stayed till morning. Now, wherever you go, you must return home at night. We have tied round your neck the wooden bell that is tied to a cow or other animal to prevent it from straying. You must shake this bell to make it sound. And if a dance is being danced at night in your village, go to it together and come home again together. If you are ill or suffer pain, tell each other about it. Help your wife to bring firewood and leaves. If you go to a hunt and get any fruit to eat, eat half and take home half to your wife. If you get the flesh of an animal, eat one piece and wrap the other piece up in leaves and carry it home to your wife. At all times help and tend each other, do not be separated from one another." With many salutations the bridegroom's party are dismissed to their home, but several visits take place before the ordinary routine of daily life is resumed. This, in brief outline, is the normal course in marriage, but there are a good many departures from the normal which are regarded as quite legitimate if circumstances justify them. As has been said, the ordinary marriage is described as "buying the bride," but, as has also been indicated, there are circumstances in which it is the bridegroom who is bought, in order to marry a girl whose value has been depreciated in the marriage market. There are also plans for the accommodation of those who are too poor to pay the ordinary price of a bride and the expenses of the usual marriage ceremony. One of these arrangements is for an exchange to be effected, a man getting a bride for his son from a family to whom he gives his daughter as a bride. One proviso in such bargains is that the daughter given in exchange must be younger than the son for whom the bride is received. In a family in which there are only daughters, it is a common

custom to buy a husband for one of them, who does not take his wife to his parents' home but comes to live with his parents-in-law, so that they may have a son to look after them in their old age. A poor lad, again, may work for a wife as Jacob served Laban for Leah and Rachel. Sometimes the young people take the matter into their own hands and carry through a marriage by force. If a youth can succeed in marking the forehead of a maiden, at the parting of the hair, with vermilion, he has established a good claim to her. There is usually a heated altercation between the two families, but if possible a regular marriage is arranged, for otherwise the girl will no longer rank as a spinster, of full value in the market, but as a divorced woman. The initiative is sometimes taken by the girl. If she has set her heart on marrying a youth, she may assemble her friends and, poising on her head a pot of rice beer, walk straight into the house of the youth, and sit down to await events. This is done with as much publicity as possible. The mother of the youth usually resents the intrusion, but etiquette forbids her to use physical force to repel it. One device which she can legitimately use is to close up all the apertures of the house, throw a handful of pepper on the fire, and shut the door upon the girl. If the girl can stand this ordeal, public sympathy is generally on her side, and it is considered that the best thing to do is to arrange a regular marriage. There is compensation in the fact that no price is paid for a bride who forces herself upon a youth in this way, and there is no compulsory exchange of presents. Monogamy is the rule, but second marriages are not uncommon in cases where the first has proved childless. If a man marries a second wife while the first is still living, if possible he takes the wise precaution of building a separate house for her. If he cannot afford to do this, domestic unhappiness is the probable result. The senior wife is always regarded as mistress of the house, but the junior wife is entitled to an equal share of the property.

The ordinary life of the married couple is one of fairly hard work, interspersed with a good deal of dissipation in connection with the various festivals. There is a big festival about the beginning of the year, which is a sort of Harvest Home, marking the completion of the rice harvest. This is followed by a comparatively slack time till the season for ploughing and sowing comes round again. It is the favourite time for marriages and also for hunting. About the end of March or the beginning of April a very important work is the gathering of the flowers of a forest tree,—the *Mahua*, *Bassia latifolia*, which the people use as food. The flowers fall to the ground in the early morning, and the people gather them up, dry them in the sun, and store them up as a most useful supply of food. The country liquor is distilled from these same flowers, under Government control, and from the fruit which ripens two or three months later a valuable oil is expressed. The advent of the monsoon in June is the signal for ploughing and sowing the rice and Indian corn. The latter crop grows with marvellous rapidity and is gathered in August or September. The rice harvest follows in November and December, and so the cycle of the year runs its course. Millets are also largely grown, and a few oil seeds like mustard, castor oil, Niger oil, etc., and these are gathered after the rice. Wheat and barley are sometimes sown to a limited extent, in a year of specially plentiful rainfall, as a second crop. Nearly every garden contains a little tobacco, grown chiefly for personal use. It is dried in the sun and is used mainly for chōwing, mixed with lime.

The quiet pastoral life of the Santal people was interrupted on one famous occasion by an event that is still regarded as the turning point in their recent history. In the year 1855, exasperated beyond the limits of endurance by the exactions of the money-lenders and the landlords, and alarmed by threats of imprisonment for debt at a time

when the advent of the railway was holding out the prospect of lucrative employment, they rose in a body 20,000 strong, determined to march to Calcutta, some 150 miles distant, in order to lay their grievances before the Governor-General. Unwise interference on the part of the police, who tried to arrest their leaders on a false charge, led to an outbreak, and once blood had been shed, the Santals broke loose and determined to wipe off old scores once for all. It is said that hardly a money-lender or a landlord was left alive in the course of their march. Troops had to be sent against them from Calcutta, for they put to flight any forces which the local authorities were able to muster. Had there been a single official, military or civil, who understood the language spoken by the Santals, many lives would have been saved. As it was, when called upon to surrender the rebels did not know what was meant, and in many cases, armed only with bows and arrows, spears and battle-axes, they fought till the last man was shot down. Only wounded men were taken prisoners. They compelled the admiration of the men who fought against them. "They were," wrote one of the English officers, Major Jervis, "the most truthful set of men I ever met ; brave to infatuation. A lieutenant of mine had once to shoot down seventy-five men before their drums ceased and the party fell back." When the rebellion was quelled, Government made a careful inquiry into the grievances of the people, and they were so fully redressed that Government was said to be encouraging insurrection by granting everything the Santals had fought for. A certain tract of country, the Santal Parganas, was set apart as a sort of reserve for the Santals, in which they enjoy a measure of legislative protection, restrictions being placed upon the exactions of landowners and money-lenders. A great many Santals, however, are found outside the limits of this district. A few hoary-headed Santals, are still to be found in the villages, who tell stories

of the rebellion, and most of the older generation date everything from that event. It was the rebellion, too, that was the chief means of turning the attention of Christian missionaries to the Santals, and they found the Government very willing to help them in educational schemes. The first missionaries to the Santals, in fact, were English officers who had fought against them, and one of them compiled the first attempt at a dictionary of their language.

An account of the Santal people would be incomplete without some reference to their language, the most remarkable of their possessions. It belongs to what is called the Kolarian group, and is of the agglutinative type, consisting of roots rather than words, the root serving as noun, adjective, verb or adverb, according to the necessities of the case. It is a language of fine distinctions. Skrefsrud, a scholarly Scandinavian missionary, who wrote a Santali grammar that is now the standard work on the subject, makes out that there are twenty-three tenses in the Santali verb. There is a past that means that something has been done, and another that means that something has been done but has been cancelled in its effect by something else that has happened. To take an example from the Christian Creed: In the statement that "Jesus died," it is the latter tense that is used, and its use conveys at once to the Santal mind the fact that although Jesus died He is not now dead, but came to life again. It is the former tense that is used in speaking of the death of anyone else. Another instance of complexity is the first personal pronoun. In the first place, there is a dual as well as a plural, and in both dual and plural there are two forms, an inclusive and an exclusive, depending upon whether the person addressed is included or excluded. Thus for the English "we" there are four words in Santali, two dual, *alang* and *aling*, the first meaning "you and I," the second "I and someone else," and two plural, *abo* and *ale*, the first meaning "we, including you," and the second "we, excluding you."

Nearly all the Santals, however, are bilingual. They speak their own language among themselves, but it is of little use to them in the bazaar. In some parts of their country Bengali is the language of commerce and of education ; in others it is Hindi and in others Ooriya. When the Santal boy goes to school, he has to learn all that there is to learn in what is to him a foreign language. Still, in spite of its low commercial value, the Santali language shows very little tendency to die out. At the last Indian Census in 1911, of 2,178,716 Santals who were enumerated, no fewer than 2,083,816 were returned as speaking Santali.

When the Santal dies his body is carried down to the river side or to any other convenient spot, and cremated. This ceremony is carried out according to prescribed rule, and the idea that dominates the proceedings seems to be that everything must be done to conciliate the spirit of the deceased, otherwise his spirit will haunt the household and the village and inflict all manner of harm. So the eldest son puts a rupee between the dead man's teeth, and some money and brass vessels are also placed on the bier. The body, too, is washed and anointed with oil. It is the eldest son who applies fire to the corpse and he does so with averted face, applying a firebrand to the mouth and then throwing it on the pile. After the body has been cremated, some of the bones are carefully collected,—the frontal bone, the collar bone and the bone of the upper arm,—and these, placed in an earthen vessel which must be closed in a certain way, with the culm of a certain grass projecting from a hole in the centre of the lid, are reverently carried to the Damuda river,—the sacred river of the Santals and a tributary of the Hooghly,—and, with much ceremony, committed to its waters. There are other ceremonies to perform when the party returns home. One of them illustrates an idea that is very firmly rooted in the Santal mind,—that no one dies a natural death. In this ceremony a man impersonates the spirit of the deceased. He is asked

why he died, and he replies "Because there was no room for me in the eye of a certain man." In other words, it is the evil eye, malevolence, witchcraft, that causes death. Sacrifices of fowls and incantations are recommended as a means of averting this evil influence.

The Santal's idea of a future state is very hazy. He speaks of a Jom Raj, a King of Death, at whose summons he must leave the world, but this is evidently borrowed from Yama, the Hindu god of death. There is a myth among the Santals that in the future world all departed spirits are engaged in grinding the bones of the dead, from which the bodies of the new-born infants are supposed to be made. Only two excuses will serve to procure exemption from this toil,—men may say they are preparing tobacco for chewing, and women may plead that they are nursing their babies.

J. M. MACPHAIL.

Bamdah.

REFORM AND RESPONSIBILITY.

BY W. S. URQUHART.

TO DANTE, writing rather more than six hundred years ago amidst the confusion and strife of Italian politics, only one solution of the problem of peace seemed possible. When princes fall out, with each other, "there must," he says, "needs be a third, of wider jurisdiction, who has principedom over both ; hence the necessity of a world-empire." A recent writer¹ shows how Germany has inherited this conception of the necessity for a superior power, has interpreted it to her exclusive advantage, and promised us a German peace, with German Kultur triumphant and the nations of the world reduced to impotency. She would make a desert and call it peace. In revulsion from such a prospect the nations of Europe, seeking to restore order in the midst of the present chaos, are turning their thoughts more and more to a league of peace which shall bind together a free democracy of nations. But the question immediately arises, Where is the international authority which shall secure delay for this settlement of international disputes by arbitration and shall have sufficient power to enforce decisions? Where is the law according to which these decisions shall be made, and finally,—deepest question of all—*Quis custodiet custodes*, inspiring them with that spirit—enlightenment of mind, change of heart, strength of will to peace and the common good,—call it what you will—which alone can guarantee the stability of the whole international edifice. When, for power imposed centrally and from above, there is substituted power evolved from within and from below, when democracy takes the place of monarchical control,

¹ Mr. J. A. R. Marriot, M.P. in the *Hibbert Journal* for July.

and imperial rule is exchanged for a society of nations in co-operation, such questions as to supervising control, the rules of common action, and, above all, as to the spirit of co-operation, are bound to arise. And of them all, the last, in its ethical and spiritual aspects, is by a long way the most important.

If, on the principles of analogy, we may pass from the wider to the narrower issue, from the question of the external relations of the nations and empires of the world to the internal relations which obtain or are likely to obtain within the British Empire; if we may compare old with new, bad with good, the ancient mediæval idea of imperial domination and its sinister interpretation by Germany with the actual beneficent accomplishments of Imperial rule within the British Empire and especially in India, then, perhaps, we may form the expectation that similar problems will arise. There is transition in both cases from the conception or the fact of centralised authority to co-operation of a more democratic character, with the very significant difference that the states of Europe long for a league of nations in a spirit of revulsion from an outworn idea or a paralysing threat, whereas the more democratic methods of government are desired by the best amongst the people of India, not in a spirit of a revolt from a tyrannical despotism, but as the expression of the new life which has been brought into being by the forces silently and effectively working through one hundred and fifty years of the *pax Britannica*. The existence of such forces constitutes a record of which Britain may well be proud, and it would be a misinterpretation of Indian history during the past century and a half and a piece of gross injustice both to the British Government and to the more reputable leaders of Indian opinion to speak as if the reforms were to be granted as a panic-stricken concession to the fear of revolt or demanded in the spirit of irreconcilable and bitter antagonism. Even those who are most vigorous in

their opposition to the present state of things might be described as making a demand "not for the overthrow of a conqueror but for admission to his household." Or we might put it, that India has now definitely passed beyond the state of political childhood, and, however grateful she may be to the power which has brought her safely through the dangers of childhood, that gratitude will be changed—and changed quickly—to discontent if she is kept beyond the proper time at the stage of tutelage. Enlightened opinion will be unanimously against those who desire to prolong the days of childhood, however kindly and protective the motives for this may be. The only difference of opinion will be as to whether the political treatment should be that appropriate to a youth or to an adult, but into this particular phase of the controversy we need not enter.

The important point to consider is that there will assuredly be a transition of far-reaching significance. To whatever degree it may be acted upon, the announcement made in Parliament on the 20th August last is rightly described as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history," and "as marking the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one," and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is referred to by its authors with no unjustifiable exaggeration as "outlining the plan of one of the greatest political experiments ever undertaken in the world's history." Experiment it may be, and it will be considered rash or otherwise according to our point of view, but it should not be condemned out-of-hand simply because it is an experiment. Britain has not been altogether unsuccessful in the past with her political experiments. "The only successful experiment," says General Smuts, "in international government that has ever been is the British Empire, founded on principles which appeal to the highest political ideals of mankind." And there is no adequate reason to conclude *a priori* that an Indian

² War Time Speeches, p. 13.

experiment in inter-communal relationships may not be properly devised and successfully carried out. But the point which we wish to emphasise is that this experiment, however far it may go, is tending in a definite direction. It is a political movement away from centralised government. The inevitable consequence is that, seeing that the external control appropriate to the stage of political childhood is to give place, in less or greater measure, to the self-determination of the youth or of the adult, the character of those who are to enjoy the privilege of self-control politically, becomes of very much greater importance than ever before. *Quis custodiet custodes*, unless their own sense of responsibility for the common welfare guide them? The internal, the spiritual and moral aspect of the matter becomes the most important element in the whole situation. If men do not attain to spiritual and moral freedom, the giving of political freedom is like pouring water into a cask full of holes. It is an altogether futile proceeding and not only futile but dangerous. The measure of power which is given must be strictly proportioned to the measure of the sense of responsibility which is aroused. Men cannot be given freedom until they are themselves willing to be free—free from the domination of their lower nature, and until they are ready to give freedom—and protection—to those who are under their control.

It appears as if this internal aspect of the matter had been strangely disregarded. We ask if India is ready for responsible government, but what do we mean by ready? Do we mean ready in external conditions or in internal attitude? Surely we make too much of questions relating to territorial and commercial interests, and of difficulties connected with the heterogeneous character of the population, the limited extent of education, the absence of historical knowledge and political experience. Important as these questions may be, we lay too much stress upon them if we allow them to exclude from our attention all consideration

of whether the people to whom government is to be entrusted have within them the instinct and impulse of brotherhood, a readiness to turn words into deeds in genuine effort after reform, and a spirit of humility which cares more for opportunity of social service than for parade of personal prestige. It will be the spiritual and moral attitude of the Indian leaders which will, after all, determine whether political experiments relative to them are to be a success.

Some, of course, will—in words at least—dismiss insistence on such inner considerations as sermonic vapourings, and will claim that as practical men of the world they themselves have to deal with facts and not with fancies, with the concrete machinery of government and not with vague and abstract ideals. But it is just possible that even in this so-called materialistic age, the spiritual may turn out to be more powerful than its material framework. In the last few years of war this framework of Western civilisation has been shaken almost into ruins. But the spirit has remained steadfast—the spirit of loyalty, self-sacrifice and devotion to the common good—and has enabled our Allies and ourselves to evolve new forms of organisation for the defence of humanity and freedom. Where such spirit is absent, there dissolution either *has* taken place, as in the case of Russia, or *will* take place, as in the case of Germany, in the near future. History—very recent history—teaches us the importance of the spiritual.

Least of all can we refuse to recognise this in the case of India. Whatever opinion some may have about the danger in India of high-sounding talk about religious matters without corresponding practical application, and however opposed to progress certain concrete forms of religion may be, it still remains true that the Indian mind has a genius for religion which takes precedence of its genius for politics, and that, if you invite an Indian to enter into politics and at the same time invite or encourage him to

leave religious considerations out of account, you are courting disaster. The invitation may be but too easily responded to, but this does not alter the fact that the Indians who respond under such conditions, however numerous they may be, will be but hybrid persons, leaving behind them the better part of their tradition and doing violence to their better selves. If you wish to create a healthy nationality in India, you cannot do so by despiritualising her inhabitants. Much may have to be done in the way of translating theoretical religious thought into practical social service, but you will not secure practical morality by leaving religious thought out of account. The latter must be welcomed as an ally of the former. There is a considerable amount of truth in the saying that "only as politics are spiritualised will the country become really worthy of the devotion of man."

Much of the extremist criticism on either side really indicates a determination to remain at the external point of view and to estimate the measures of reform according to the amount of their probable success in reconciling warring classes and competitive interests. On the one hand the extremists complain that the Reforms give them only a pop-gun to play with, and on the other hand it is suggested that these same Reforms put into the hands of incompetent Indians a weapon which they will first of all turn upon their present rulers, then upon the more helpless amongst themselves, and finally mishandle in such a way as to blow their whole society to pieces. The assumption is made that we have to deal with a number of antagonistic parties whose interests are mutually exclusive and who are simply waiting for the withdrawal of the strong hand of a central authority in order to fly at each other's throats. Indian leaders who press for reform are accused of caring only for prestige and narrow self-interest, and, to certain extremist Europeans who most frequently urge this objection, they retort that the European has come to India for what he

can get, to make a competence and more than a competence and retire as early as possible. And it may be remarked in passing that the European sometimes increases the difficulty by a kind of inverted hypocrisy. He is in many cases so impatient of sentiment that in order to avoid the pretence of being better than he is he makes a pretence of being worse than he is, and constantly reiterates the assertion that he has certainly not come to India for the good of his health. The result is that many Indians are unnecessarily blind to the incalculably beneficial results of the upright management of large business concerns which provide an honourable livelihood for a great proportion of at least the city population, and are unaware of the many unobtrusive acts of kindness and social service which are performed individually and collectively by members of the great commercial firms. And one cannot have any sort of intercourse with the Indian community without realising how deep in many cases is the appreciation of the generous treatment received in many of the leading commercial houses. It may be remarked in passing that Europeans generally have seemed to lay excessive emphasis recently on the consideration that the "prospects" under the contemplated *régime* will not be sufficiently attractive to induce Europeans of the best type to come to India either to join the services or to undertake other responsibilities. We are convinced that there lie other and nobler motives hidden not far below the surface, and that the spirit of adventure and the sense of imperial solidarity and mutual responsibility, which the experiences of the war have done so much to foster, have only to be appealed to in order to awaken into vigorous life. The writers of the Report state their apprehension that their "labours will be vain and worse than vain unless the Indian public men who will be responsible for the working of the reforms succeed in so working them as to retain for India the willing help and guidance of many men like those who have led her thus far on her

way, until such time as she has produced a generation of administrators of her own to compare with them in strength and foresight, integrity and detachment." Surely it is premature to assume that no response of the kind asked for will be given.

But our main contention is that an incessant talk about safeguards and guarantees indicates an unpromising materialistic attitude and a disposition to consider only the external machinery of Government without sufficient attention to the inner spirit of both the governors and the governed. There are those who are so impatient of trothy idealism that they are ready to reject idealism altogether. They demand that facts alone should be considered. Very well, but what are the facts—of human nature taken as a whole? Are the only facts the non-constructive impulses of hate, jealousy and rivalry, and is the machinery of government to be put together only with reference to these? Is criticism to be only from this point of view? Is it not possible at least to claim that there are other motives of a more constructive character which may operate on human nature and which may be encouraged. And is it not possible to argue that no system of government, however externally perfect, has the slightest chance of success, unless there can be awakened in the community concerned a sense of responsibility, and a readiness to serve the common good, disinterestedly and loyally? The inner aspect of the Reforms would seem to be of predominant importance.

It is not surprising that at great crises in the history of an empire or of the world the attention of man should be turned outward before it is turned inwards, that especially at such a time as this men should be concerned with what external events and world forces, the movements of armies and the introduction of political changes can do for them, rather than with their own responsibilities and their capacity for discharging the same. The coincidence of war

experiences and political proposals; strengthens the tendency to externality. In the midst of war with all its confusions and horrors, there seems to be no limit to our expectations in regard to what peace can do for us. Because peace is so desirable we think that it will be all-powerful. Because the victory of righteousness is so urgently needed, and because the Allies are so obviously fighting on the side of righteousness and in defence of the weak and the oppressed, the belief easily gains ground that the victory of the allied arms *in itself* bring about the firm establishment of righteousness. The very importance and necessity of victory leads us to misinterpret it. We think that everything is to be done by force of arms. We think that on the day peace is signed there will be an end of all injustice; of all quarrelling and rivalry, of all oppression of class by class. We forget that the victory of military forces on the field of battle must be followed or accompanied by victory over our own spirits, if even the military victory is to have its full results and we may believe that those who have laid down their lives have not died in vain.

This tendency to rely on external victory to accomplish, not only much, but *everything*, is strengthened by our attitude to many of the present practical difficulties of life. In regard to so many of our plans we have got into the habit of saying, "We must wait until the war is over." We must delay any new schemes until the war is over and so on and so on. Building materials, *e.g.*, are very scarce and in many cases cannot be obtained at all. We expect them to be plentiful after the war is over. Countless buildings will spring from the ground when the restrictions on the supply of beams and cement can be removed. The end of the war is to do all this. And we widen our expectations. We think that this same end is to enable us to construct, not only buildings in bricks and mortar, but the far more delicate fabric of human society, national and international, which has been largely cast down into ruins during the war.

and which was in any case far too narrow and confined and consisted of too many non-communicating rooms to suit the needs of the growing human family. We forget that the end of the war will, in itself, give us only the new opportunity, but will not prepare us to make use of that opportunity.

Similarly we allow our minds to be almost completely filled by the political changes which are taking place or are in contemplation. It is impossible to exaggerate their importance, whether we agree or not that they will usher in new and spacious days. They must be regarded as providing the opportunity of a new political life, as providing the machinery, the instrument by which the new system may be constructed. But if we regard provincial autonomy, enlarged and popularised legislative councils, financial control, transference of subjects to democratic administration, as themselves creating the new life itself we shall make a grievous mistake, and the reforms will be worse than useless. Far better the old unchanged order of things than a democracy which has not found its own soul, which has not risen to a sense of responsibility, which uses freedom from external control to bind fast the chains of oppression which the strong cast round the weak within their own borders. To some the reforms appear to be so great that they seem to make everything new. They may be one of the necessary conditions of the new and better life which is uprising in India, but they are not the only condition, nor perhaps the most important one. And it will be nothing short of a tragedy if we overlooked the spiritual and moral aspect of the changes which are in contemplation.

At present in our simple reliance upon external aids, military or political, we are rather like settlers in a new country. With the pioneers in an unexplored and unexploited region of the earth's surface, the material, the external is apt to bulk rather too largely. The early settlers

in America had to devote their attention to felling the forests, laying out roads, cultivating the fields, digging wells, building their factories, and it seemed perhaps at first as if they had little time for anything else. The material aspect of the civilisation they were constructing was exceedingly important. But even amongst them it was not *all*-important. Within less than twenty years the first college for higher education was founded, and—more than this—the early settlers took with them the elements of a virile religion, which they never allowed to die, and which has been one of the chief factors in building up the strong, free, and progressive democracy of the West which to-day we welcome as amongst the most important of our Allies on the field of battle.

In this day of new things, in our engrossment in the effects of the coming of peace, in our absorption in schemes of political reform it seems at least possible that we may forget the spiritual basis of all society and the conditions of all successful reform. It may be a commonplace to say that society is made up of individuals, but it is a commonplace which is easily forgotten. The new day cannot dawn unless those who herald its dawning are themselves possessed by a deep sense of responsibility to their fellow-men and to God, and renewed through a firm religious faith, through a spirit of humility, through a readiness to further the common good even at sacrifice to themselves, unless they are men who aim not at the accumulation of new possessions in the new era, but at the creation of new opportunities which they may faithfully use. It is only in such a spirit and with such a sense of responsibility that we can, when the day of peace comes, pay our debt to those who have died for us in this war, men of India and of the distant parts of the Empire. They have died to save India from invasion, its homes from destruction and her people from cruelty and death. They have died for spiritual values, for freedom,

for brotherhood, for progress in India as well as other parts of the Empire. In the course of the war they have taught us lessons of unity and devotion, and surely we shall carry with us to the new day the spirit of discipline, the spirit of sacrifice of which so many shining examples have been shown to us. In the war certain ideals of freedom and of service have been striven for and these will not be forgotten in the day of peace, but will be applied not merely politically but also socially for the deliverance of those in bondage and the protection of the weak. Until peace comes we have indeed

"the storm"

"The darkness and the thunder and the rain"

but

"When it is peace, then we may view again
With new won eyes each other's truer form
And wonder: Grown more loving-kind and warm
We'll grasp firm hands and laugh at the old pain
When it is peace"

But men can grasp each other's hands in brotherhood only if there has arisen and grown strong within them a sense of responsibility towards their brethren both in India and across the sea.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report contains many and varied schemes for the future government of the country, and the opinions expressed in regard to it are probably as many and as varied as are the schemes themselves. But we think that both the friends and the enemies of the proposals set forth will be willing to admit that the inner aspect of politics has not been lost sight of, and that a spirit of ethical purpose runs through the whole. At the very outset, the writers take high ground and claim that because their "purpose is right, it will be furthered by all that is best in the people of all races in India." There is a constant appeal for sincerity and a reiterated warning against the folly of thinking that India can be saved by fine phrases or by a sham patriotism which is finely gilded and

put in place of efficiency. Criticism of existing institutions, e.g., Council Government, frequently takes the form of pointing out the element of make-believe that is involved in the appearance of popular control without reality, and in a plea for the social health which would result from a more straightforward procedure. To be compelled to vote by order may do violence to the individual conscience, and the crushing of the individual member by the official phalanx gives an air of unreality to the whole proceedings.³ Throughout, the authors of the Report are aware of the gravity of their task and of the responsibility laid upon them and this moves them to insist that all their proposals will be useless unless they can call forth in the people they are designed to benefit a corresponding sense of responsibility. This is the note sounded over and over again. The present system of Council Government is criticised not only because of its unreality, but also because it does not "savour of responsibility." The writers of the Report call upon the members of the Services not to be backward in granting the freedom involved in the new order of things, urging as a reason that "the increasing sharing of responsibility is a higher order of work than administration." They appeal to educationalists to "foster more widely in the schools and colleges those ideals of duty and discipline, of common responsibility and civic obligation, on which a healthy political life depends," and they base their confidence in the successful working of self-government in India on the expectation that "the exercise of responsibility will call forth the capacity for it."

Is it too much to expect that this appeal to the spiritual and moral sense of the people will receive an answer in this country which has always prided herself of placing the spiritual *above* the material even though she may not have always applied the spiritual *to* the material in the way in

³ Cf. Sect. 86-88.

which she is now called upon to do. India glories in her spiritual heritage. One of her sons told us the other day that "she would sooner believe that all is spirit than that all is matter." These new opportunities, whatever particular form they may take, are a test of India. By meeting them she may prove that her pride in her spiritual past is not a matter of mere sentiment and of words, but is capable of practical application in transforming the present and preparing the way for a future of progress and enlightenment. The new opportunities cannot be rightly used until a fitting sense of responsibility is developed, and the fundamental requirement for such development is a genuine religious consciousness. Religion as a living force and not as a survival of dead tradition can alone redeem a society. "The progress of pure religion means the progress of the community ; the regress of pure religion means the declining of the community," says a recent writer : and the late Sir John Seeley speaks in much the same strain. "I have always held that religion is the great state-building principle. The Church is the soul of the State. Where there is a Church, the State grows up in time, but if you find a State which is not also in some sense a Church, there you find a State which is not long for this world."

The word "Church" in this quotation need not be narrowed to its Western and ecclesiastical sense. We may take it to indicate a recognition of the social value of religion. But if religion is to have this social value, it must be based on sincerity, which we have also seen to be *sine quâ non* of political health. This means that the upholders of religion must be ready to apply a rigorous test to its traditional forms. They must refuse to uphold rites and ceremonies in which they themselves do not believe, on the plea that such ceremonial will be useful for the less educated members of the community. By such preservation of the traditional they confer but a

doubtful boon on their less fortunate neighbours, and they develop in themselves a most pernicious attitude to truth. If the principle of "truth at all costs" is not observed first of all in religion it will not be observed elsewhere in the body politic. Again a sense of responsibility towards one's neighbours must depend upon a sense of unity, and this must be developed within religion. It is possible that we may accept too easily the existing variety of religions, and be oblivious of the disunion to which such variety leads. We are thus compelled to spend much political energy in guarding against the warring of the creeds, energy which might be much more profitably spent in discovering a way of surmounting religious antagonisms. No man may lay violent hands upon his neighbour's religion or introduce the faintest shadow of compulsion. But surely it is the duty of every man to provide opportunities for the knowing of the best, and the winning of the best in religious matters will bring us very much nearer a unity in which men shall realise the essential brotherhood of the human race and the mutual responsibility of the members of one family.

There are two characteristics of Indian religion which prevent its full application to social problems. One is that it is turned too much to the past and occupies itself unduly with the contemplation of departed glories. It thus becomes conservative and static. It does not draw from the past a dynamic for the present. It does not realise "the duty of paying back to the present generation the debt they owe to the society of the past." There is, further, an inclination to question the very possibility of applying religion to life. In religion and philosophy the doctrine is still powerful which looks upon the world as to a great extent a dream, an unreality which is hardly worth troubling about. God is an abstract unity, and union with Him means turning away from real enthusiastic interest in the world. The result is an unpractical attitude to the

world which has sometimes had disastrous results in the past. An Indian writer, Mr. Promatha Nath Chaudhuri, pointed out the other day that "the tragedy of Indian history consists in this utter divorce of life from thought," and Mr. Karve, who is responsible for a very healthy reform movement in the neighbourhood of Poona, laments that "the notion that the service of mankind is acceptable to God and is in itself a way to spiritual salvation to those who seek it, is yet a stranger to us."

One is moved to appeal for consistency and to suggest that Indian leaders should not halt between two opinions. If they find that interest in politics is incompatible with a negative attitude in religion, they should either give up their interest in politics or transform their religious negative into a positive. To adopt the first alternative would be retrograde. The second remains a possibility and a ground of appeal. Is it not possible to form a conception of a God who cares for the world and seeks the unfolding of His purpose in the full development of humanity. In such a positive belief the salvation and health of society will be found, for through such a belief that indispensable sense of responsibility will be created which is necessary to save religion itself from sentimentality and society from disintegration.

This sense of responsibility will express itself in many activities, all of them important and all of them illustrating the influence of the inner spirit upon outer conditions. To begin with, it will inspire efforts to make the world a better place to live in from a material point of view. It will turn its attention, negatively, to the prevention of disease, and, positively, to the improvement of economic conditions. Man who enjoys good health, will not suffer his neighbour to die of fever if he can prevent it. Those who have control of land will see to the sanitary condition of their tenants. The dwellers in the villages will not grudge labour which may bring no immediate personal return in the shape of

pice, but result in improving the village tank or the village well or sweeping away the refuse which has accumulated and made the whole place pestilential. The better educated will bring their knowledge of better conditions of life to bear upon the needs of their poorer neighbours. Landlords in towns will no longer rack-rent their tenants and refuse them the simplest improvements absolutely necessary for health, simply because these would cost a certain percentage of the rent received. Men will feel themselves responsible for their neighbours' health.

In regard to positive economic development the question may be asked whether the more fortunate are doing all that they can to make it possible for their fellows to gain a decent livelihood or are exploiting necessities of the poor and oppressing them because of their weakness. Many men who complain of being oppressed by those above them are themselves oppressing those below them, and it is wonderful how much of the burden of social injustice would be removed if each man began to investigate his own actions in this respect. What about the village money-lender? Does he get the poor ryot into his clutches in order that when the harvest comes he may compel the latter to sell his crop to him at less than market rates. And do the wealthier men stand by and see this done without moving a hand to help? There are co-operative banks waiting to be started, but they cannot progress as they ought because often the well-to-do seek for higher interest than they can get in this form of social service. And what effort is made to combine and organise new method of production? Capital is not forthcoming for industrial enterprises because of want of mutual trust, *i.e.*, because of a want of social religion and brotherhood, and a forgetfulness of the true saying of the Report that "trust begets trust." And are there not some men in the community possessed of a fair amount of this world's goods who might be found even willing to *risk* a little of their capital, if thereby they could

finance an industry which would bring prosperity to thousands of their fellows ? Of course this expectation will not be fulfilled so long as men are thinking merely of what they can get, but if, through the development of the sense of responsibility, they can be brought to think about what they can *give*, the establishment of industrial enterprises might not be so difficult a thing, and we might not hear so many demands for protective tariffs and so many complaints about the exploiting of the resources of India by alien capitalists. Patriotism should take a positive rather than a negative form. It should display itself in the foundation of industries which have in themselves so vigorous a growth that they do not need to be protected, and it should lead to the provision of local capital to such an extent that foreign aid would not be required to so large an extent for the financing of great enterprises. But positive patriotism depends upon a sense of responsibility to our neighbour in regard to his physical well-being.

There must also be a deepening sense of responsibility in regard to the improvement of the education of the country. The political tendency is in the direction of democracy, and this means that all men must come in the end to have voice in the government of the country, must take some slight share in the responsibility for this. But such a possibility is inconceivable unless education is much more widely spread, unless the divorce between the educated minority and the majority of the people is healed. The complaint has often been made that Government has not done enough for the spread of primary education. But under the new scheme the people of every province will have themselves to see to it that this duty is undertaken and that adequate resources are provided for it. This will be effectively done only if there is a sense of the necessity of education for every member of the community, so that he may live the full life for which he is destined in a

free democracy, and only if there is a consciousness of the all-important effects of education in the direction of liberating the spirit from prejudice and fatalism, fostering the love of truth, and deepening the sense of duty and social responsibility. And such effects cannot be brought about unless a better class of teachers is provided, unless the wealthier members of the community cease to think that a teacher is well paid if he gets merely the wages of a moderately efficient domestic servant. And upon the educated classes in this country there is laid also a heavy burden of responsibility in regard to the formation of public opinion. In any public meeting in which a considerable proportion of the audience is illiterate, there is no end to the harm which may be done by a rash and unconsidered word. The illiterate are swayed by impulse and emotion and it is the duty of the literate to prevent emotion from attaching itself to the wrong objects and leading to foolish enterprises. In a country where rumour flies so rapidly as in India, those who are trained in the logical sifting of evidence are specially required to see to it that rumour is kept firmly fastened to facts and is not allowed even to start upon her disastrous flights.

Finally the sense of responsibility for social welfare in the broader sense must be deepened. The Report deplores the weakening tendencies of certain customs, and points out that, when the people themselves have share in the government, they may not be so reluctant as others who are in possession of less complete knowledge, to deal with socially oppressive practices which have grown up under the shelter of religious tradition. But such an expectation can be fulfilled only if the religious attitude of the people is unifying and progressive. Men cannot care for the social needs of other creeds and castes so long as religious antagonisms persist, and, until through the religious feeling the sense of brotherhood is further developed, it will still be possible for a high caste gentleman

to prefer that a low caste boy should receive no education than that he should attend the same school as the children of higher castes. And, until religion becomes progressive and sees its golden age in the future rather than in the past, harmful customs, such as excessively early marriage which weaken the vitality and consequently the political capacity of the people, will still continue. The oppressiveness of custom is associated with a religious attitude in which the freedom and value of the individual is not emphasised and men settle down easily under the pressure of society. The fear of society becomes a bugbear which can be destroyed only through an increasing sense of responsibility *towards* society and a consciousness of ability to modify existing conditions. If men thought more of what they could do *for* the welfare of society they would not so easily allow it to interfere with the welfare of themselves and their children, and in society generally the furtherance of the common good would be a motive sufficiently powerful to counteract the effects of tradition and custom, of sectional and family interests.

There is no end to the ways in which this sense of responsibility might express itself, but it is impossible to consider them further. We have indicated the source of this consciousness of social obligation, and our main contention is that without this internal spiritual factor, no scheme of reform, however excellent in itself, can hope to succeed. Its virtues will become useless and its defects will be intensified. Men must learn the infinite worth of every human soul, they must rule themselves and respect others before they can assume with any prospect of success the duties and responsibilities of government. They must use their intellectual strength for the winning of truth which shall free them from fatalism, from the tyranny of tradition and the bondage of custom. And they must reach religious and moral conceptions which will bind them together in a brotherhood in which each man will

seek, humbly and reverently, to serve the common good and will gladly accept responsibility for the welfare, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual, of those of his brethren of the same human family who are less fortunately placed than himself. Only in such a spirit can India—or indeed any other country—use the opportunities of improved external conditions, and look forward with confidence to “new and spacious days.” If such a spirit is absent we need not trouble to ask whether the reforms are good or bad in themselves, for, whether good or bad, they will most certainly be doomed to failure.

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ON AND OFF THE BEAT IN BENGAL BEING STRAY LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF AN OFFICER OF POLICE.

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(*Indian Police.*)

TRUE it is in Bengal as in other countries of the East and West that the Policeman's life is not altogether a happy one, but despite its manifest disadvantages it has many aspects of a distinctly delightful nature. No one, save perhaps the Missionary, has such opportunities as the officer of Police to know the people, to know not only the evil side of their nature, but to know their joys and woes, their customs and beliefs.

It is quite wrong to imagine that the Indian rustic when he takes to crime must surely fall an easy prey to an all-powerful Police. On the contrary he is a very shrewd individual and, on the whole, a more difficult person to catch than his *confrère* of Western climes.

Take the Bhampta, who to my mind is *facile princeps* amongst the long array of notorious criminals. There is no more capable pickpocket than he, search where you will. Leaving his home in far off Bombay, he makes his way to towns where large crowds of people regularly assemble for the purposes of travel. The confederates arrive on different dates and by different routes and if their stay is only to be for a few days they will make use of a *sarai*. If, on the other hand, their campaign is to be on a grand scale they will hire a large house and feign to be railway contractors or merchants in affluence. By making friendship with the railway staff they soon learn when a rich man is to travel. They keep close to him at the booking office

window and buy tickets for a village in the same direction as the destination of their intended victim. One of the Bhampta's will then seat himself in the merchant's compartment, whilst his companions will travel in another carriage.

It is the custom for Indians when travelling to place their money bag by their side, or, if space permits, they use it as a pillow when they lie down. If the bag or box is bulky it is generally put under the carriage seat. The thief waits until his victim has made himself comfortable and is slumbering and then he lies down too with his head near the spot where the bag or box of money happens to be. If it is a bag, he cuts it open with a sharp curved knife and extracts the money. This knife is generally carried in the mouth between the gum and the upper lip. Occasionally, if time and the circumstances permit, he will carefully fill up the bag with stones so as to delay as long as possible the moment of exposure. If the money is in a box, he will attempt to file through the hinges, or force open the lid and thus remove the booty. The Bhampta is extraordinarily clever in alighting from moving trains, and I am told that he can, without injury to himself, alight when the train is travelling at the rate of 20 miles an hour.

If the thief is detected before he has had time to pass on the loot to his confederates, he indignantly denies all connection with the occurrence and attempts to throw suspicion on others. Oftentimes, his associates to distract attention arrange an assault case amongst themselves or charge each other with theft in order that their comrade may take the opportunity to escape. Again, they will sometimes try to induce the complainant to release the thief or offer to hold him until the Police arrive. And they have been known to throw a handful of dust into the eyes of the complainant so that he will be compelled to let go the accused. Sometimes they throw the stolen property out of the carriage window into the jungle, alight' at the next

station and then retrace their steps to possess themselves of the plunder.

There is no criminal cleverer at disguise than the Bhamptas. Usually he poses as a well-to-do Mahratta and wears a small *pagri*, *kurta* and a *dhuti*, loosely tied. Occasionally he will dress like a Marwari or an up-country Bania, and it is believed that, resplendent in European costume, he sometimes commits thefts in first and second class carriages. When a woman is to be robbed, one of the gang disguises himself as a female, but after he has obtained her money he quickly dons male attire again.

The following example will shew the ingenuity of the Bhampta. If he wishes to remove property from under the pillow of a man sleeping at a railway station, he will take an early opportunity of lying down next to him and then by the use of a feather or of a similar article tickle the back of his intended victim. This causes the man to turn in his sleep and the Bhampta is thus enabled to put his hand underneath the pillow and remove the object of his desire. Or one Bhampta will pinch the foot of his intended victim who sits up violently from his sleep to see what has bitten him which allows another Bhampta to take away the valuables from under the pillow.

Cases of *suttee* are nowadays much fewer than they used to be. True for some time instances of self-immolation by kerosine burning were spasmodically reported in the sensational press, but cases of self-sacrifice on the funeral pile are at present of rare occurrence. Only one such instance has come to my immediate notice and in that case the witnesses, after proving the *suttee* at the initial stage of the investigation, later combined to make out a case of death from cholera when they realised the matter had attracted my attention. There is not the slightest doubt that the husband died from natural causes and that in the usual way his friends at once arranged to cremate

the body which was carried to the burning ghat. The dead man's widow, who suffered badly from leprosy, followed the bearers and when the fire was lighted she jumped on it and was burned to death. Before jumping into the fire she was said to have walked around it seven times with two mango branches in her hands. Standing amongst the flames she called out "Radha Krishna, Radha Krishna." I learnt subsequently that the woman bathed herself at the ghat and anointed her body and that after walking round the pyre she placed her hands on the feet of her husband's corpse. She unloosed her hair and placed it in a flame and called to her son to put fire into her mouth. This he was said to have done, using a burning fagot for the purpose. At that moment, my informant reverently declared, the whole pile trembled. It will be interesting to know in the years to come if a shrine in the woman's honour has been erected at this cremation ground.

Cases of cheating are very common and much ingenuity is often displayed by those who indulge in this form of crime. The following examples will shew some of the artifices to which swindlers have been known to resort.

A merchant had two bills of lading—each for fifteen bundles of dry chillies to be delivered at a certain station, the railway freight on each consignment being Rs. 55-5. These bills were so altered as to read "150" instead of "15" bundles in one bill and "151" in the other. Again to make the deception look more real the amount for freight in each bill was changed to Rs. 50-5. He with another *bepari* then went to an up-country merchant at Goalundo, shewed him the forged bills and said that as at the time the price of chillies was higher in Goalundo than at the other place, they wished to sell the goods there and then. The up-country man agreed to take the chillies and paid Rs. 500 for them. On receiving that sum the swindlers, duly endorsing the two bills to their unsuspecting tool, took a hurried departure, and it was not until the latter went to the

steamer office to take delivery of the goods that he discovered how he had been cheated. The accused, sad to say, were never caught.

A few years ago two up-country men disguised as Pandas of Jagannath proceeded to the house of one Gopal, performed a religious ceremony and went away saying they were *en route* to Muchia. However, on the following day they again visited Gopal's house and told him that it contained many gold mohurs, five of which he would have to give to the Thakur. The Pandas then took his wife and himself into one of the rooms, lit a lamp and proceeded to dig a hole in a corner whence they removed an earthen jar which appeared to contain a great number of gold mohurs. One of the Pandas asked them whether they would prefer to accept the money from their hands or from Siva direct, and, on their saying the latter, he told them that God would appear before them if they went to the north of the village a little before dawn the following morning. They did so, and shortly after their arrival a man smeared with ashes and with a cloth wrapped round his head came towards them. He was calling out "Hara, Hara, I am Siva" and ordered them to give all their ornaments to the Thakur to hide in the hole where they had seen the mohurs and to comply with the behests of any *sadhus* who might visit them. By doing exactly as he told them they would receive many gold mohurs and not lose their ornaments. Siva enjoined the strictest secrecy and threatened them with the loss of their eyesight should they divulge what had transpired. The next day the two Pandas again put in an appearance saying they were collecting pilgrims for Jagannath and inquired casually if Gopal and his wife had seen Siva. On hearing what had happened they requested that the ornaments should be made over to them and these they tied up in a rag. They then began to dig another hole a little distance away from that in which the gold mohurs had been seen and asked for some *bel* leaves wherewith

to pray. The complainant went outside to obtain these leaves and the Pandas were thus left alone, but on his return Gopal thought that he saw the bundle of ornaments in the hole. He was directed to leave the house for a short time and to look for the gold mohurs and ornaments when eight days had passed. But after two days Gopal's wife became curious and suspicious and searched the two holes to find no gold mohurs, no ornaments and no jar. The Pandas had decamped with property valued at over Rs. 200 and they were never caught !

I will only refer to one more phase of swindling, that in which the *dona khel* trick is employed. This is by no means an uncommon form of cheating and similar cases are frequently reported from all parts of India.

About ten years ago a wealthy dealer in hides ordered his boatman to go to certain villages to buy skins. Having obtained Rs. 4,000 from his bankers wherewith to pay for the goods purchased, he was two days later told by the boatman that there had been living with him for some months a *fakir* who wished to have an interview with the master. The *fakir* had given out that he was the long lost brother of the boatman and that he was possessed of a charm by virtue of which he was able to double sums of money. The *bepari* forthwith visited the *fakir* who after a little conversation shewed him a gold charm, saying that whenever it was placed with a sum of money the amount was invariably doubled. He then suggested that he should go to the hide dealer's house to prove the efficacy of the charm and the *bepari* promised to invite him. On leaving, the long lost brother gave him one rupee, one anna and some rice tied in a piece of new cloth, telling him to put them into his iron chest. Next day, the *fakir* called upon the *bepari*, removed the rupee, etc., from the iron chest and adding another rupee and the gold charm, replaced the bundle in the box, after persuading the merchant to remove therefrom the sum of Rs. 6,000 which had come to the notice

of his eagle eye. He then took his departure and returned after two days, when opening the iron box he shewed Rs. 4-2 to the bewildered *bepari*. Now recognising the miraculous powers of the *fakir* he agreed to place the sum of Rs. 6,000 in three gunny bags and bury them in the floor of an out-house so that with the aid of the charm he might be possessed of double that sum. The *fakir* next put three brass pots above the spot where the bags were concealed and instructed the merchant not to touch them for seven days. Nine days went by, and, as the *fakir* did not again present himself, the *bepari* and his boatman decided to dig up the bags, but of course, all the money had disappeared. The cheat, who was probably an inhabitant of Rajputana and who was also very probably engaged in other cases of a like nature which occurred in a distant district about the same time, managed to frustrate all the efforts of the Police to arrest him.

I have always been specially interested in poisoning cases. In this country there are professional poisoners who generally resort to the following lines of action when engaged in their nefarious occupation:—

- (1) They ingratiate themselves with coolies returning to their homes, then take an opportunity to poison their food and abscond with their hard-earned money.
- (2) They visit the house of a *fille de joie*, drop some powder *dhatūra* seed into the wine she is drinking and make off with her jewellery.
- (3) They offer to give water to travellers in which they first put some drug and while unconscious relieve them of their money and valuables.
- (4) They hire a bullock cart and at the first opportunity mix some *dhatūra* with the driver's food and then, while he is in a state of insensibility, drive off with the oxen and the cart.

Powdered *dhatūra* seed is the poison generally employed. It is easily obtainable, as the *dhatūra* is a common plant in Bengal, and it is rapid in its action, being much stronger than *bhang* or *ganja*. I am told that after partaking of a concoction with which *dhatūra* has been mixed the throat becomes parched and the stomach has a burning sensation which causes the body to stoop. Within a short time vertigo sets in and the victim falls insensible to the ground.

A rice merchant, whom I will call Banamali, was some few years ago touring in his boat and looking for customers when two Mahomedans inquired from the shore if he had any broken rice to sell. On receiving a reply in the affirmative they requested him to go ashore for the purpose of arriving at an agreement, and eventually three maunds of rice were sold for Rs. 7-6-6. Banamali anchored there for the night, keeping his boat at a little distance from the land. Then one of the *mallahs* began to cook the evening meal in the stern, while the others sat forward and talked. At about midnight a dinghy dashed into Banamali's boat and the occupants demanded a smoke. It was pointed out to them that they could not smoke while food was being eaten, but eventually their request was complied with, as they asserted they were *shahas* and one of them went on board to take a *chillum*. Shortly after the nocturnal visitors left, Banamali and his comrades took their meal and began to feel that their tongues were being painfully drawn inwards and their eyes forced to close. All three of the men, excepting Banamali, lay on their side. He came out and seeing the boat drift away called to his companions but there was no response. He was, however, able to fasten his boat to a craft belonging to another merchant before he also fell unconscious. After that it is impossible to say what happened, for both the boats were burnt. One of the boatmen met his death by the flames, another has never been heard of since and Banamali and the third

mallah received serious injuries. They lost all their money and there can be no doubt that the occupants of the *dinghy* who were given the *chillum* for smoking purposes took the opportunity to drug the food which was being prepared, relieved Banamali and his boatmen, while unconscious, of all the money they had with them, and set the boats on fire.

Murders are not infrequently committed by means of arsenic, but these are generally actuated by revenge or by disagreements in love affairs. A lover will also occasionally rid himself of an unwanted husband by persuading the wife to administer a love philtre. I remember a case in which the widow of the dead man readily admitted that she had placed a pill with the *dhal* she cooked for her husband each night, as she wished to regain his affection. It appeared that he was wont to ill-treat her, so her mother obtained the love philtre from a friend of the family. Subsequent inquiry shewed that the so-called friend was enamoured of the wife and the pills were the instrument by which he removed the husband from his path.

I have several times heard in the course of my police career that snakes are used to kill persons who are a source of trouble. Tyrannical *naibs*, village Lotharios and other such disagreeable people are, it is alleged, often bitten at night by karaites or cobras which are dropped upon them. No such crime, however, has come within my ken. Two or three years ago a Catholic priest in Nadia had the misfortune to meet his death in circumstances of a somewhat similar nature, but this was an accident pure and simple. A young karait had made itself comfortable in the priest's bedding before the mosquito curtain was pulled down. During the night the snake endeavoured to curl itself up within the ear of the priest who feeling the movements put up his hand to remove the annoyance. The karait thus roused, struck at once and bit the sleeping man inside the ear. Death ensued, but the priest's bravery and

resignation under the terrible conditions I have indicated will long be remembered by the residents of the locality.

The reference to snakes brings within my recollection a case at Midnapur in which the accused, a Santhali, was charged with murder, inasmuch as he had caused the death of a co-villager. He professed to be a snake charmer and went to the house of the deceased to exhibit his skill. He had a cobra with him and offered, for a reward, to put it round the neck of the deceased and shew him that no harm would result. The deceased did not fall in with this suggestion, but the accused suddenly put the snake around his neck. Alarmed, the villager moved away whereon the snake bit him on the left shoulder. He gradually sank into unconsciousness and died the same night.

It was in a Midnapur murder case four years ago that a father, to save his son, cut off the head of the man that the latter had killed, placed it in a sack and walked nearly 40 miles to headquarters where one Sunday morning he produced the head before the Judge at his residence and confessed to the crime for which he was not responsible. I quote this incident not on account of its luridness but as an example of the length to which a father will go when the life of his son is at stake.

When in charge of the Faridpur constabulary, I one morning noticed not far from headquarters a large number of people bathing in the river. My curiosity being aroused I inquired why the place in question had attained to such popularity, and the reply was in the following strain. A couple of months previously a villager had dreamt a wonderful dream in the course of which he saw a living and a dead man engaged in solemn conversation. After a time he who was alive proceeded to bathe in the adjacent river and the other asked him why he did so. The answer was to the effect that the river water had miraculous powers and the bather therein invariably had his desires fulfilled and his ailments cured. Hearing this,

the dead man jumped into the stream and as soon as he put his head above water it was seen that he had come to life again! Now the villager much impressed by this manifestation bethought himself of a sick cow which had never improved in health despite the many attempts of the village veterinary. He took her down to the river and immersed her and lo ! she was immediately cured. A woman of his house who happened to be ill at the time was also subjected to the same treatment and with the same happy result. The news soon spread far and wide and men and women began to visit Mullickpur from all sides. On Saturdays and Tuesdays there was a service in honour of the goddess Kali to whom the worshippers made offerings of pice. With the advent of the pilgrims a market place was opened and money collected for the construction of a stone bathing ghat.

On the last day of the Bengalee year a big fair takes place at Ghagar, which is situated right in the centre of Bhil land. Thousands of pilgrims arrive at this village, which for 360 days of the year is a most unpretentious place. All bathe in the river, and one can see those excited by abnormal religious enthusiasm endeavouring to pierce their tongues with iron rods. This is an ancient practice which has, generally speaking, fallen into disuse. I have certainly not heard that it takes place anywhere else. Some observe it in fulfilment of a vow to Siva on recovery from a severe sickness. Others firmly believe that Siva is propitiated by such an act of self-mortification.

Quite recently I came to know of a new Hindu sect which owes its origin to one who for 29 years of his life was an ordinary Namasudra cultivator. Suddenly he declared himself to be the messenger of an unknown goddess who had appointed him to convert people to the new religion. He proclaimed that a man could live with a widow without going through the form of marriage and that the children of such a union would not be illegitimate.

Moreover men and women should dance together in *Hari-Sankirtan*. Many disciples have flocked to the standard of this prophet who now presides once a year at a fair in his native village. This *méla* lasts for a week and his followers make offerings of money and rice and bow down before their leader. He dresses himself like unto Krishna, while his chief wife is attired as the goddess Rai. As the fair progresses he delivers lectures on religion, as it appeals to him, while occasionally the men and women indulge in frantic dances during *Hari-Sankirtan*. In the course of ten years his disciples have increased until they now number about 2,000.

Toilers in towns have little idea as to how the Indian rustic enjoys himself in his periods of leisure. I have often wondered why visitors to Shillong shew no desire to view the archery matches for which the Khasis are famous. In the cold weather the latter are reluctant to work for a monthly wage as that means trouble when they absent themselves for the archery competitions so dear to their hearts. The matches are generally between the representatives of two villages and each side proceeds in a band to the site selected for the scene of the battle. This is generally a pretty secluded glade on the side of a hill. Targets are placed forty yards away from each other and the teams station themselves at opposite ends. The targets are but bundles of straw, about four inches through, wound round a bamboo twenty or twenty-four inches high. Before the competition actually commences, the first team to shoot indulges in a weird dance to the accompaniment of strange yells and shrieks. The bows are held aloft whilst their owners hop about in an alarming manner. This scene is enacted after each side has shot, and sometimes the contests are prolonged for several hours. The archers are almost superhuman in their skill: they shoot kneeling and about one arrow in three transfixes the target. On occasions, the hills around Shillong would seem to be the home of

demons, as the shouting which accompanies the contests can be heard from all directions. After the return of the victors to their native village a revel not infrequently takes place as a result of which many are unable the next day to follow the occupations which should receive their attention.

Bullock racing is a favourite pastime amongst the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal. Special animals for this pursuit are kept by sporting farmers who pay as much as Rs. 300 for a really good bullock. Races are held on large open spaces, and they are the source of much enjoyment and excitement. I quote the following description of a "meeting" from an article of mine which appeared in *The Field* a few years ago:—

"The races are held on an open maidan (field), and only take place during the cold weather. The bullocks, which for the most part are overfed and underworked, always appear to be out of hand, and arrive at the scene of the contests at a quick trot, held with ropes by four or five wildly gesticulating men. The pride of the village wears a garland round his neck and is escorted by his chief supporters, who occasionally leap into the air and give forth frantic yells, which do not tend to quiet the already over-excited animal. With fifteen or twenty such animals suddenly sighting each other, it will readily be conceived that "bull-fights" often occur before the real work of the afternoon begins. A full hour is passed in exhibiting the competitors and arranging the heats, and then much more time is expended in harnessing the rival bullocks to the log of wood upon which the two opposing drivers stand. For the races are not exactly contests of speed; though the two competitors are attached to one and the same log of wood and start straight, the animal on the left pulls to the left and he on the right to the right. All the time, too, they are proceeding onwards at a mad gallop, and it is wonderful how the drivers cling with their toes to their precarious

perch. The bullock which first pulls round the other is declared victorious, and he will subsequently be matched against the successful competitors in other heats. Needless to say, the animals become more and more excited with every succeeding event, and not infrequently very stirring scenes are witnessed when two couples are pulling against each other."

Hardly a week passes that I am not confronted with some new phase of crime or that I do not learn something fresh about the people in my care. The longer one is in India the more forcibly does he realise how little he knows of the people amongst whom his lot is cast. The book of Indian life is always open inviting the reader to study chapter after chapter of wonderful episodes. The Police officer, it is frequently urged, can never be an unbiassed student of such a tome for is he not engaged by day and often by night in dealing with the seamy side of life? This, however, is not a fact, for in the course of his investigations and travels he also has ample opportunity of realising and admiring the many fine attributes of the people for whose good he has been appointed and without whose support and esteem he needs must be a failure.

P. LEO. FAULKNER.

Barisal.

REFORM SCHEME AND EUROPEANS. IS THERE ANYTHING TO FEAR?

BY SUTOR ULTRA.

I WRITE from the standpoint of a Scoto-Indian whose chief regret so far as the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are concerned is that it was not found possible to introduce them, or something like them, four years ago. Had immediate advantage been taken of the unique opportunity presented by India's spontaneous rally to the Empire at the outbreak of the war, there would have been little or no controversy. There would have been no squabbling over details, no imputation of motives, no suggestion that Indians were taking advantage of the world crisis on the one hand, or that a frightened bureaucracy had been stampeded into granting an irresistible popular demand on the other. The elder brother would, as it were, have naturally and spontaneously taken the younger brother into partnership as a tacit acknowledgment of his loyalty and support. The younger brother would have welcomed this mark of confidence and affection as an earnest that when he had further qualified himself he would in due course acquire an equal say with the elder in everything relating to the firm. The great adventure would have been undertaken in circumstances which would have made spontaneously for co-operation and goodwill. As it is the "calm atmosphere" which has been so earnestly desiderated is conspicuous by its absence. Not merely are Englishmen and Indians divided with regard to the reform scheme, but an even deeper cleavage exists between various groups of thinkers among the Indians themselves. An advance which would have satisfied most of the extremists four years ago does not

entirely fulfil the wishes of the moderates to-day, but even so it has raised serious misgivings in the mind of the British element in India. The task of reconciling these incompatible tendencies upon the basis of a report which has so far apparently satisfied nobody promises to be an exceptionally difficult one.

So far as the British element is concerned it will, I think, be found that any opposition which it has manifested or is likely to manifest to the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals is dictated almost entirely by apprehension with regard to the vast commercial interests which it has built up during the past 200 years. That it should also feel the approaching diminution in its racial and communal privileges is natural, but I do not imagine that it would waste much time in lamenting these if it were confident that its vested interests would be respected. On this point I have personally no qualms whatever. My few savings are nearly all invested in India, but I have little doubt that I could reconcile myself to their entire disappearance if that would help on the greatest good of the greatest number. I am convinced, however, that the ruin of the British investor is not essential to the progress of India, nor do I believe for one moment that he will be called upon to make this particular sacrifice.

British objections to the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are numerous, but the principal ones appear to be three.

1. *First*, it is said, they are unnecessary, have not been demanded by the Indian masses, and have been conceded in response to the clamour of a few hundred, or it may be a few thousand unrepresentative agitators, who are without any real power, and could safely have been ignored.

Splitting up this argument again into two heads, it may be pointed out, in reply to the first, that many, if not most of the political and other changes that have been brought

about in India during the past few centuries have not been demanded by the masses. If the demand or even the consent of the masses is to be regarded as *conditio sine qua non* in the case of all future changes, then it is safe to say that very few further changes will be made, except, possibly, in the direction of reducing the cost of food and clothing. There is doubtless a good deal more in the second point. The Indian politician is certainly not representative in the same sense as the British politician, and it is extremely probable that if the Government of India had chosen it might have ignored the agitation for political reform without doing much damage to the feelings of anybody but the politicians. But this argument cuts two ways, as I shall presently endeavour to show.

2. The second main argument against the scheme arises from the instinct which tells the business man that the stability of British commerce depends upon the continuance of British supremacy in this country. He feels nervous about this continuance when he contemplates a provincial government fighting a losing battle against the steady encroachments upon the executive of *quasi*-popular politicians. The fact that the Governor will retain the power of veto, and that the Government of India, with powers that are little if at all impaired will be constantly in the background, affords him little comfort. The authorities will be more than human, he fears, if they are able to withstand the steady pressure of the politicians. In short, the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, in the view of this considerable class, sets the British *Raj* upon an inclined plane, down which it must travel at an increasing speed until it lands at the bottom in fragments, involving British commerce and industry in its ruin.

It will be observed that assumption and pessimism run rampant throughout the statement of this doleful case. Granting, however, the assumption that Indian politicians will prove themselves to be entirely and deliberately

destructive in the exercise of their new powers, will they be so very formidable a factor after all? If they are unrepresentative, if they have no real influence with the masses—and this is one of the chief counts in the indictment against the Government for yielding to their clamour—how will they enforce their will upon the Government in any single instance beyond the point to which the Governor or the Viceroy sees fit to go? You cannot have it both ways. If Indian politicians are without any real power or authority they cannot hope to exercise any real influence upon the Government under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. On the other hand, if they have real power and influence, the authors of the report are apparently not without justification for the line they have taken. When these matters are put to the test it will probably be found that those Indian politicians who first emerge under the new system will have more authority than their critics think, and less power than their critics fear.

But, it may be suggested, what is to prevent a weak-minded governor from giving way to these clamorous people? What is there to prevent him now? Viceroys and governors have been charged with this particular fault even under present conditions, and if the charge is correct the trouble apparently relates to the shortcomings of individual administrators rather than to the system under which they work. If the argument is that the appointment of weak governors is likely to be the rule under the new regime, the inference would be that the British character has deteriorated—a conclusion which would take us further than is contemplated by the critics of the Montagu-Chelmsford report.

I submit that until complete self-government accrues, the Governor of the province, backed by the Government of India, may be trusted to keep a reasonably firm grasp of the steering wheel, that even if he succumbs to the temptation to make a great many concessions to political clamour

there is a point beyond which he is not likely to go; that when he takes his stand at this point, should political agitation be resorted to for the purpose of forcing his hand, it will be found that the agitators have over-reached themselves and have merely exposed their own weakness. Should political agitation develop into violence of a revolutionary kind the issue will be simplified, and the problem will become one for the police and the military authorities—just as it would under similar circumstances to-day. Unless and until the course of events rules otherwise, I see no reason for assuming that British control will from now onwards go by the board.

And it is worth while bearing in mind the possibility that the new order of Indian politician may always turn out to be more reasonable than some of us anticipate!

3. The third main objection which has been urged is the extent to which the scheme threatens to lower the status and responsibility of the district officer and the certainty of the ultimate supersession of the British Civilian by an Indian official. It is contended that the result must be to lower the calibre of such Englishmen as continue to compete for the Indian Civil Service, and that the general effect upon district administration cannot but be detrimental to local British interests. This appears to me to be the most cogent argument of the three. If it ever came to the complete disappearance of the British district officer, and the lowering of the calibre of the British element in the Indian Civil Service, this change would unquestionably represent a serious loss to the administration. It is probable that, apart from any discouragement which the report may offer to British recruiting for the Indian Civil Service, the supply of the best material will prove to have been greatly reduced by the wastage of the war and by the more advantageous openings which will present themselves elsewhere when peace returns.

Let it be assumed, however, that the worst comes to the worst—that the British element in the administration dwindles to a negligible quantity or even disappears, and that British commerce is left to make the best terms which it can with a purely indigenous administrative system. Does anybody who knows the British merchant imagine that he will sit down and chalk the word “Ichabod” over his godowns and offices? There is no evidence that he is less sturdy or self-reliant than his ancestors, who founded British India under conditions a good deal less favourable than those outlined above. Why, then, should he stultify his own splendid record? Without any disparagement of our Indian fellow-citizens it is perfectly certain that so long as any Britons at all remain in this country they will be looked up to as leaders, organisers and administrators. If the British Civilian disappears, the British non-official resident in the district will, to all intents and purposes, be called on to take his place, either as an honorary magistrate, as president of the municipality, or in some other capacity in which his energy and initiative can be given full play. He may not relish having to do this work, but it will be an excellent thing that he should find himself compelled to do it. Truth to tell, the British non-official in India has for many years past shirked his duty in most matters unconnected with trade and commerce. He has lived unblushingly for himself and his business, and it is not merely right but essential that he should be shaken out of these selfish grooves.

If he is forced to take a keener interest in public affairs as the result of the diminishing number of Britons in the public services, he will also be forced to cultivate his Indian fellow-citizen both in work and play, and the result will be a growing appreciation of the many fine qualities of the latter, and a widened outlook upon the vast horizon of India's social, political and educational possibilities. At the same time the Indian will discover that the Briton has

a warmer heart than he has always given him credit for, and will be better able to allow for those mannerisms which have played an excessive part in fostering misunderstandings.

There is, in fine, no cogent reason for believing that British interests would go down, even if every British official disappeared from India, so long as the British business man retained his grit, capacity and enterprise. But, once again, the British official has not yet taken his departure, and it remains to be seen when, and to what extent, India will ever be willing to let him go!

It may be argued that the whole situation has been altered by the summoning of Indians of all classes and races to train themselves to defend their country. The contention is worth glancing at, because, although it has no direct connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, it is doubtless connected with the policy which is responsible for the report. The suggestion is that there will come a time when the Indians will be trained in sufficient numbers to be in a position to forcibly expel the British, provided they can obtain sufficient arms and ammunition. This presupposes a remarkable unanimity of conviction throughout India that "Britain must go." If that be admitted, would it be necessary for the Indians to be armed to the teeth to expel us? Surely not? If India were unanimous on the point to-day she could very easily give effect to her wishes without the shedding of a single drop of blood. It hardly required the impressive demonstration of four years ago to prove that India does not wish to get rid of the British connection. The mere fact that it exists is an evidence of its validity. The arming of India can make no change in the essential facts of the situation. Nor does our experience of the races, whom we have long been accustomed to arm, or of the classes whom we are just beginning to arm, justify any apprehension as to the future relations between these classes and the *Raj*. On the contrary, it is just among these

classes that the flame of goodwill and mutual understanding burns most brightly and steadily. While Britons and Indians are fighting side by side in the air and on land and sea for the freedom of the human race, this is hardly the time to suggest doubts and misgivings because the latter are no longer to go disarmed.

Whether the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is destined to satisfy the aspirations of our Indian fellow-citizens is a matter as to which they have not yet apparently succeeded in making up their minds, but, whatever may be the outcome from their point of view, I have endeavoured to show that it is by no means "the end of all things," so far as the British element in this country is concerned.

SUTOR ULTRA.

SHELLEY AND HARRIET SHELLEY AS LETTER-WRITERS.

BY J. A. CHAPMAN.

EVERY father should read Shelley's letters in case some son of his should turn out a Percy Bysshe. Then he would be prepared. "Every mother, too," we might add, remembering that Swinburne's mother said she didn't know what she'd done to produce such a monster. No—very few fathers and mothers *could* read them—not attentively at least. They are all about things in which fathers and mothers are too sensible to be interested. About antimatrimonialism, minds unisonous in reason, embryos of mighty intellects one day to enlighten thousands. About the uncertainty and transitoriness of human life and its occupations (our own seem so endless!), and its fleeting prospects and fluctuating principles. And they are so long, and so meaningless. Page follows page of *mush*, with at bottom no meaning. When one comes upon words that do mean something, one recognises them with a strange little thrill of surprise. Surprise?—it may be a positive shock. One reads : "Cannot you reason him out of that rough exterior? It has the semblance of sincerity—in reality is it not deceit? Your attention to his happiness is at once so noble, so delicate, so desirous of accomplishing its design, that how could he fail, if he knew it, to give you that esteem and respect, besides the love which he does? Methinks he is not your equal, not an exception to the general rule of my belief—that I have not found you equalled. Were he so, would he not discern your attentions? No : he must be *like* you, before I can ever institute a comparison between your characters." Before one has quite done wondering if, supposing he did become really like her, it wouldn't then be hardly worth while, one

reads : " Of your mother I have not much opinion. She appears to me one of those every-day characters by whom the stock of prejudice is augmented rather than decreased." That was in a letter to Elizabeth Hitchener. The rough exterior that had the semblance of sincerity, but was really deceitful, was her poor father's. No, decidedly! fathers and mothers should not read Shelley's letters!

The description of Mrs. Hitchener may have been untrue (it probably was true enough!). It does mean something. That gives it the value of a little habitable island in the great waste, where gray league of water follows gray league. That the rest means anything, that there is in it any smallest picture of Mr. Hitchener that any human being would think worth taking away—that we defy anyone to maintain. There's a "parody" of Willoughby Patterne in it, if you like. Listen: "Cannot I reason you out of that rough exterior? It has the semblance of sincerity—in reality is it not deceit? My attention to your happiness is at once so noble—I obey my nature : it is not a thing for which I look that the world should praise me—so delicate, so desirous of accomplishing its design, that how could you fail, if you knew it, to give me that esteem and respect besides the love that you do? For you do love me, Clara? I was sure of it! Love me eternally! Methinks you are not my equal in that respect—not an exception to the general rule of my belief; that I have not found myself equalled. By Lætitia Dale, perhaps!" And so on! All of it *mush*.

We lost count how many pages it went on in Shelley's letters before the next little island came in sight. It was in another letter to Elizabeth Hitchener. This : "Eliza (Miss Westbrook) keeps the common stock of money for safety in some hole or corner of her dress, and gives it out as we want it." That, too, means something. In which it was safest, in the hole or in the corner, is a thing one

wonders. Shelley's and Harriet's part was £400 a year, £200 of which came from Shelley's father, sent, we learn from one of Shelley's letters, "to prevent his cheating strangers!" That hardly counts as Shelley's, seeing they are his father's words. They make the island most firmly anchored in all that waste.

The spate is sometimes interrupted while Shelley speaks of a neighbour. There is then a struggle between it and the ways of expression that we ordinary people use. "Wordsworth (a *quondam* associate of Southey)"—that's how we talk—"yet retains the integrity of his independence"—there is the spate again—"but his poverty is such that he is frequently obliged to beg for a shirt to his back." That wasn't true at all, by the way. More often the neighbour is swept past like a cork in a flood. "I do not mean that Southey is or can be the great character which once I linked him to. His mind is terribly narrow, compared to it. *Once he was* this character—everything you can conceive of practised virtue.—Now he is corrupted by the world, contaminated by Custom."

"I passed Southey's house without *one* sting. He is a man who *may* be amiable in his *private* character, stained and false as is his public one; he *may* be amiable; but, if he is, my feelings are liars, and I have been so long accustomed to trust to them in these cases, that the opinion of the world is not the likeliest criminator to impeach their credibility."

So the flood flows on. Bright visions of "awakening noble nations from the lethargy of their bondage" are followed by the dark picture of "the overwhelming torrent of depravity which education unlooses."

Read in the proper spirit, these letters are extremely amusing; but whether it is good for us to be amused in that particular way—That last, "the overwhelming torrent of depravity, etc.," was written *à propos* of the

young men at Dublin College; but they were no worse than young men educated elsewhere. That Shelley should think so badly of them shows *how* pernicious he thought the influence of "mothers and nurses," schoolmasters and tutors, for he wouldn't hear of original sin. When Elizabeth Hitchener, who was bringing up some little American children, hinted at some in one of them, Shelley implored her not to think that.

There are more than two score letters to Miss Hitchener. Shelley had scarcely seen her, but he worked himself up about her till nothing would satisfy him but that she should give up her School, and come and live with them—"eternally." When she wanted money Eliza Westbrook was to produce some for her out of that hole or that corner. That was the whole point of *that*. Harriet Shelley liked Miss Hitchener's letters; and appears really to have wanted her to come. Well, she came at last, and they all called her Bessie. One is afraid Harriet was the sharper-eyed. Bessie came about the middle of one July. On 4th August Harriet described her as "very busy writing for the good of mankind. She is very dark in complexion, with a quantity of long black hair. She talks a great deal. If you like great talkers she will suit you. She is . . . as thin as it is possible to be." Shelley finally got her to go—with an annuity of £100. He writes about her and it to Hogg, his biographer: "The Brown Demon, as we call our late tormentor and schoolmistress, must receive her stipend. I pay it with a heavy heart and an unwilling hand; but it must be so. She was deprived by our misjudging haste of a situation, where she was going on smoothly: and now she says that her reputation is gone, her health ruined, her peace of mind destroyed by my barbarity; a complete victim to all the woes, mental and bodily, that heroine ever suffered! This is not all fact; but certainly she is embarrassed and poor, and we being in

some degree the cause, we ought to obviate it. She is an artful, superficial, ugly, hermaphroditical beast of a woman, and my astonishment at my fatuity, inconsistency, and bad taste was never so great, as after living four months with her as an inmate." Not nearly as great, however, as ours.

Harriet Shelley, but after all she was a mere girl, went all lengths with her husband, even to echoing sometimes his dreadfully inflated phraseology. Instead of writing, like a sensible girl, that they eat only vegetables; she writes: "We have forsworn meat and adopted the Pythagorean system." She went with him wherever he would go, whether in the world of fact, or in the fantastic world of Shelleyan aspiration. They went together to Ireland, there to solve the eternal Irish question with a pamphlet, a certain scheme of Philanthropic Associations, and a Declaration of Rights; but Harriet was not without her suspicion of the absurdity of it. Of all these matters Miss Hitchener, not yet the Brown Demon, was to be kept informed. That was Shelley's business, not Harriet's; but Shelley, if called away in the middle of writing, would make Harriet continue while he was away. So the letter is often a "duet," and the treble is then a delightful contrast to the bass. One gets such bits as: "I'm sure you would laugh were you to see us give the pamphlet. We throw them out of the window, and give them to men that we pass in the streets. For myself I am ready to die of laughter when it is done, but Percy looks so grave—yesterday he put one into a woman's hood of a cloak." Or such a bit as: "As Percy has sent you such a large Box so full of inflammable matter, I think I may be allowed to send a little, but not of such a nature as his." Or this: "Mrs. Nugent is sitting in the room now and talking to Percy about Virtue."

That was in Dublin, where, however, talk of Virtue did not seem to advance matters much; and they were

very soon glad to leave. The Irish Philanthropic Associations were never founded, nor consequently were any ever in England. They were to be: that was part of the scheme. The Box to Miss Hitchener was to prepare the way. "Might I not extend the Philanthropic Associations," Shelley writes, "all over England, and *quietly* revolutionize the country? How is Sussex disposed? is there much intellect there?"

They passed from Dublin to Wales, where, having gone thirty-six hours without food, they immediately "fell upon meat." They are Harriet's words. Soon after they are in Cwm. Elan, where she describes herself as "tied Leg and Wing" to that "enchanting place." From there, or from wherever she is, she writes to her friends. Now in Shelleyese, now in her own much pleasanter vernacular. This is from a letter to the Mrs. Norton with whom Shelley talked Virtue. "Godwin is grown old and unimpassioned, therefore is not in the least calculated for such enthusiasts as we are." There is ever that little under-ripple of laughter.

She was to write very few more letters. All the world knows the tragic story, and has felt the deepest grief for poor Harriet. Our own has been immeasurably deepened by the loveableness of what one recognises as herself in her letters. And to turn over a few pages of "The letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley. . . Edited by Roger Ingpen" and find no more letters of Harriet's but Mary Godwin's, and hers there as if they had a perfect right to be—as if nothing particular had happened: to find them, too, the pitifully commonplace things they are—letters about their dreadful kisses—about her looking for him at her side when she wakes . . . Shelley thought they might all live together, and even suggested it. That they should live together, Mary as his wife and Harriet as his sister. Oh, Shelley, Shelley! Was the habit of *mush*, which to the petted heart obliterates all distinction between right and wrong in

human conduct, except where other people are concerned—was it ever carried further?

That anyone should think he does a service to the memory of the man he would honour by publishing letters that move one, to escape unendurable weariness, to inextinguishable laughter, others of which fill one with inexpressible disgust, is very strange.

Note.—It is not now possible for anything to lessen the world's sense of Shelley's marvellous lyrical gift. It would then have been unnecessary for any single man ever to make a profession of *his* share in the world's appreciation, except that the impression Shelley's letters make is so calculated to make people question whether he can have possessed sanity enough to be a great poet. The doubt will cause many a man, as he lays down the letters, to perform some of the acts that are instinctive—to turn to those about him or to the public if he is a writer, and profess his profound admiration for Shelley as a poet. He will say, in his familiar language: "All the said Shelley was a marvellous poet. The 'Ode to the West Wind,' the lines written in the Euganean Hills and all his beautiful things are not to be thought any the less of because of those letters." That we should think so of his poems is perhaps inevitable. Whenever the weakness in the thought that used before to be suspected, but was then lightly passed over in the spirit of one who, not profane, notices a "shy" defect in the temple—when that weakness is again noticed, the wind will bear away the sigh: "those letters! those letters!"

More than this we cannot say in a note. The spirit in which we *had* to write our paper made any serious study in it of the psychological problems that the poems read with the letters present an utter incongruity.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

CHANDERNAGORE.

BY F. B. BRADLEY BIRT, I.C.S.

II.

THE return of the English to Calcutta early in January 1757 brought with it fresh danger to the little French settlement. It was indeed between two fires. Though they had not helped the Nawab against them, they had raised no hand in their defence and it was hardly to be expected that the English would in consequence regard them with friendly eyes. Moreover confirmation of the rumour that war had been declared had reached Bengal, and the hostilities that had broken out between the mother countries inevitably involved their dependencies far away on the banks of the Hooghly. The French at Chandernagore, fully conscious of the weakness of their position, hurriedly sent down two Deputies to Calcutta, MM. Fournier and Nicolas, to enquire as to the intentions of the English. They arrived two days after Clive and Watson had re-occupied Calcutta, and on the very day a force of 200 Grenadiers and 300 Sepoys on board the *Bridgewater*, the *Kingfisher* and the *Thunder*, with a squadron of boats and sloops was despatched up the river to carry the war into the enemy's camp and attack the Moghul Governor at Hooghly. The little expedition sailed up the Hooghly, contemptuously passing Chandernagore without a salute, and after sacking and burning Hooghly, thus destroying the Nawab's base in case of another attack on the English settlement, returned in triumph to Calcutta. Meanwhile negotiations with the French Deputies continued. The French, doubtless alarmed at the growing power and determination of the English, proposed that neutrality should be observed

between the two settlements whatever might be the state of affairs between the two nations at home. The English, however, were in no haste to bind themselves to any such agreement, though Clive and his Councilors, mindful of the evil days through which Calcutta had just passed, were inclined to agree. Admiral Watson stood out stoutly against the proposal, pointing out that no agreement with the Council at Chandernagore could be binding since Chandernagore was subject to Pondichery and to ratify the agreement would mean a delay of at least two months. On the other hand, the Admiral was unwilling to involve the English Company in a war against both the French and the Nawab at the same time, while as yet they had scarce recovered from the late troubles, and he was even willing to conclude an alliance with the French against the Nawab. This the French as stoutly refused. Whereupon the Admiral wrathfully vowed that in that case he would be "forced to try his luck."

While these negotiations were in progress, events, fraught with much moment, were rapidly occurring elsewhere. The Nawab, hearing of the sack of Hooghly, hurried down to take a second vengeance upon the English in Calcutta, calling upon the French and Dutch to aid him. For the moment it seemed as if the English settlement was once more doomed. The Nawab's enormous levies swept down until they reached within a few miles of the city which they had so triumphantly entered and sacked eight months before. But it was a very different little company of Englishmen that this time awaited his onslaught, armed and prepared, and determined to oppose him to the last breath. In Clive and Watson they had commanders of outstanding ability whose genius for war made up for the smallness of their following. Not waiting for the Nawab to attack them, the English forces began the assault on the morning of February the 5th and so great was the slaughter among the unwieldy masses of the Nawab's army

that although Clive with his miniature army was forced to withdraw, the Nawab who had narrowly escaped capture completely lost his nerve and hurriedly agreed to terms with the little company of Englishmen whom he had so recently vowed to extirpate from Bengal. A treaty of peace was signed on February the 9th. Having granted them all that they demanded, confirming them in all their privileges, permitting them to fortify Fort William, restoring them their plundered factories and indemnifying them against their losses, Seraj-ud-dowla returned to his capital, an undefeated but ruined man.

In his despair he turned once more to the French at Chandernagore. A close alliance with them might yet have saved both him and them, but again the French to their credit held back. They were still loath to combine with a man of his character against another, albeit a rival, Western nation, and they still hoped so to arrange matters with the English as to avoid a contest with them. But the messages that passed between the Nawab and Monsieur Renault at Chandernagore unfortunately aroused the suspicion of the English and did not tend to facilitate the negotiations at Calcutta. The Nawab had, moreover, actually repaid to the French one lac out of the five lac fine he had imposed upon them after the sack of Calcutta, and had issued a purwana allowing them all the privileges he had just granted to the English. He had even gone so far as to offer them the town of Hooghly if they would ally themselves with him. The French, hard pressed as they were, gladly accepted the money and the concessions offered but the alliance they still firmly but politely declined. Yet rumours of a secret treaty between the French and the Nawab were strong and it was fully believed in Calcutta that such a treaty actually existed. Unfortunately also for the French there had been many deserters from Chandernagore who had joined the Nawab's army, and it was believed that the French had supplied the

gunpowder which had been used in the sack of Calcutta. On hearing of these new negotiations between Monsieur Renault and the Nawab, the English therefore took alarm and grew suspicious that the two Deputies, who were still offering terms of neutrality, had been sent merely as a blind to gain time till the combined attack of the French and the Moghul forces could be made. It was resolved to act without further delay. Clive and Watson actively organised their land and sea forces, and even as they did so came most opportunely definite confirmation of the rumour that war had been declared between England and France in the preceding May, with orders to Admiral Watson to attack the French without delay. The two French Deputies were accordingly sent back to Chandernagore and Clive followed close upon their heels with all the forces he could muster. Halting within two miles of the French settlement he sent a summons to Monsieur Renault to surrender. The terms of it were brief and to the point. It ran :—

“ Sir,

“ The King of Great Britain having declared war against France, I summon you in his name to surrender the Fort of Chandernagore. In case of refusal you are to answer the consequences and expect to be treated according to the usage of war in such cases.”

“ I have the honour to be,

Sir,

“ Your most obedient and humble

servant,

“ Robert Clive.”

A few days previously the Nawab, in fear of an invasion from the Pathans, had appealed to the English for help to defend Bengal. It was a curious sign of the vacillation and weakness of Seraj-ud-dowla that he should appeal to the English whom he had so recently treated with

such unforgettable hostility. But it was a chance that Clive was not slow to take. His reply to the Nawab expressed his willingness to come to his help but declared it impossible to do so, leaving Chandernagore behind him in the hands of an enemy against whom war had now been formally declared. Clive and Watson, therefore, asked the Nawab's permission to attack the French settlement, stating that they would wait with their forces, which were ready to march to the Nawab's assistance near Chandernagore, until a reply was received from him. On March the 10th the Nawab wrote to Admiral Watson a typical letter that might mean much or little. "You have understanding and generosity," the letter ran, "If your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection you will give him life, but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions: if not, whatever you think right, that do."

Yet no sooner was it clear to him that the English intended an attack upon Chandernagore than the Nawab seems to have taken fright at the immense advantage its fall into their hands would give them, and to have offered the French what help he could against the army that was ostensibly coming to his assistance at his own request against the Pathans. It was but one instance of the tortuous methods of Seraj-ud-dowla's policy. At Murshidabad was M. Law, the gallant head of the French Factory at Cossimbazar, and his influence doubtless did much to incline the Nawab favourably towards the French, though at his other hand stood Mr. Watts, the capable English chief who did his utmost for his countryman's cause. It is perhaps small wonder that the harassed Nawab issued orders only to countermand them and finally ended by delaying decisive action until too late. The fate of Chandernagore was sealed.

No reply having been received by Clive to his demand to surrender, he proceeded to attack a small

earthwork to the south-east of Port Orleans at 3 a.m. on the morning of March the 14th. It was a small outpost affair, but it furnished an unexpected resistance and after repeated assaults the English were forced to cease fire and withdraw. Captain Eyre Coote, whose after career in the Company's service was to bring him such distinction, was with Clive and in his journal he has given a graphic account of the day's fighting. "Colonel Clive," he writes, "ordered the picquets, with the company's grenadiers, to march into the French bounds, which is compassed with an old ditch, the entrance into it a gateway with embrasures on the top but no cannons, which the French evacuated on our people's advancing. As soon as Captain Lynn, who commanded the party, had taken possession, he acquainted the Colonel, who ordered Major Kilpatrick and me, with my company of grenadiers, to join Captain Lynn, and send him word after we had reconnoitred the place. On our arrival there we found a party of French was in possession of a road leading to a redoubt that they had thrown up close under their fort, where they had a battery of cannon, and upon our advancing down the road, they fired some shots at us. We detached some parties through a wood and drove them from the road into their batteries with the loss of some men; we then sent for the Colonel, who, as soon as he joined us, sent to the camp for more troops. We continued firing at each other in an irregular manner till about noon, at which time the Colonel ordered me to continue with my grenadier company and about 200 Sepoys at the advance post, and that he should go with the rest of our troops to the entrance, which was about a mile back. About 2 o'clock word was brought me that the French were making a sortie. Soon after, I perceived the Sepoys retiring from their post, upon which I sent to the Colonel to let him know the French were coming out. I was then obliged to divide my company, which consisted of about 50 men, into two

or three parties (very much against my inclination) to take possession of the ground the Sepoys had quitted. We fired pretty warmly for a quarter of an hour from the different parties at each other, when the French retreated again into their battery. On this occasion I had a gentleman (Mr. Tooke), who was a volunteer, killed and 2 of my men wounded. The enemy lost 5 or 6 Europeans and some blacks. I got close under the battery, and was tolerably well sheltered by an old house, where I continued firing till about 7 o'clock, at which time I was relieved, and marched back to camp."

There was every likelihood, however, of a night attack being made upon the outpost, and Monsieur Renault hastily called a council of war at which it was decided to withdraw the defences from all the outposts as soon as night fell. All efforts were to be concentrated on holding the Fort. On the 15th the English, finding the outposts deserted, occupied the town and prepared for their attack upon the Fort which was now closely invested. Unluckily for the French they were unable to receive into the Fort the native Sepoys in their employ who had been stationed in the town and outposts, and these fleeing before the English when the outposts were evacuated, hurried with the news to the Moghul Governor at Hooghly that Chandernagore had fallen. This rumour quickly reached Murshidabad and effectively stopped any help that might have reached the besieged garrison either from M. Law or from the Nawab. The 16th was spent by the French in strengthening the defences of the Fort and in blocking a narrow channel formed by a sandbank in the river up which Admiral Waston and his ships were hourly expected. Four large ships and a hulk were sunk as were also all the other craft off Chandernagore which could not be sent further up the river, except three which were kept as a last means of escape in case of need.

On the 17th Clive was engaged in erecting batteries and occupying every available point of vantage. Meanwhile within Fort Orleans a new danger threatened. Arrows with slips of parchment with the following words written upon them were found at dawn strewn over the ground inside the walls—"Pardon to deserters who will rejoin their colours and rewards to officers who will come over to us." With the fortune of war inclining unmistakably towards the besiegers the fear of treachery within the Fort was a very real one, and at least one of the officers of the garrison went over to the English. It is said that it was an officer named de Tavaneau, a Sub-Lieutenant, who betrayed his country by disclosing to the English the secret of the river passage, thus enabling Admiral Watson to bring up his ships in spite of the efforts that had been made to block the way. The story continues that, sending home a portion of the sum he had gained by his treachery to his father in France, he received it back with such a scathing letter of contempt from the old man that in despair and remorse he hanged himself in front of his own house door with his own handkerchief. Though there appears to be no foundation for the latter portion of the story, there is little doubt that his treachery hastened the fall of Chandernagore.

On the 18th Admiral Watson arrived on the scene to begin the attack from the river. With his own flagship, the *Kent*, were the *Tyger*, the *Salisbury*, the *Bridgewater* and the *Kingfisher*, and they all anchored about a mile and a half below the town, out of range of the guns at Fort Orleans, opposite the Prussian Garden, and about half a mile below the narrow channel that the French had endeavoured to block. It was the first time that such big ships had sailed so far up the Hooghly, and the gallant defenders of Fort Orleans must have realised, as they saw the Admiral's flagship approaching and casting anchor but just beyond their reach, that their fate was sealed. On the

following day the Admiral renewed the declaration of war and called on the Fort to surrender. But Monsieur Renault and his countrymen were determined to defend their little settlement until the last. The English ships had forced the passage of the river, but the guns of Fort Orleans were waiting for them and though attacked on both sides from river and land its gallant defenders made a brave defence. They could not, however, contend against the English ships. Clive himself in his evidence before the House of Commons paid a generous tribute to Admiral Watson's fleet, putting it on record that it "had surmounted difficulties which he believed no other ships could have done and that it was impossible for him to do the officers of the Squadron justice on that occasion."

Both sides suffered heavily. The range was a short one, the *Kent* with her seventy guns lying so near the Fort that the musket balls fired from her decks were beaten as flat as coins by their contact with the chunam walls of the Governor's house in the Citadel. The Fort bravely replied with a vigorous fire and so badly damaged the *Kent* that she was unfit for sea again, while the *Salisbury* was also severely handled. The casualties on the *Kent* amounted to 37 killed and 74 wounded, only one Commissioned Officer remaining unwounded when the engagement was over. But the combined attack was too much for the defenders of the Fort and, its bastions being breached, the French guns put out of action, and the gunners killed after a ten hours' assault, Monsieur Renault at last ordered the hoisting of the white flag. Terms of surrender were quickly agreed upon, being signed by Admirals Watson and Pocock as well as by Clive, but not before Monsieur Renault had protested in the strongest terms against this attack against his factory which he maintained had given no cause of offence to the English and was, moreover, under the protection of the Nawab. But Chandernagore could expect little mercy from the English,

The latter well knew what a thorn in their side the little French settlement might prove. Apart from the secret treaty which they believed the French to have made with their deadly enemy the Nawab, news had come from Madras that Lally had levelled the English factory at Fort St. David with the ground, selling the materials by auction, and it was evident that it was a war to the death between the French and the English in India as between their countrymen in the West. The Count d'Ache, who commanded the French East India Squadron, had received orders from the Most Christian King of France not to leave one Englishman, not even one of country birth, in any city or settlement he took. It was therefore not to be expected that the English would forego any of their triumph, which had, moreover, cost them so dear. According to Admiral Watson's letter of 31st March 1757 there were 32 killed and 99 wounded on the English side as against only 40 killed and 70 wounded on the side of the French in spite of the heavy bombardment to which they had been subjected. Clive ordered as a "laudable national revenge" the demolition of all the principal buildings in the settlement. So literally was the order carried out under the superintendence of Captain Brohier, the Company's Engineer, that "only a few indigent widows' huts were left standing. No trace of Fort Orleans was suffered to remain, even the very foundations being obliterated." A year later a traveller writing of Chandernagore described it as "nowadays exhibiting not more than a heap of widespread rubbish, the corpse of a quondam city, a mere waste where lurked here and there a few distressed people, whereas a year ago it was built with a regularity and neatness one would look for to no purpose in many large cities of Europe inhabited heretofore by a numerous population of wealthy inhabitants."

Many of the French escaped, some taking refuge at the Danish Factory at Serampore, others at the Dutch

Factory at Chinsura, while a few joined Monsieur Law at Cossimbazar. Of those who fell into the hands of the English, some were allowed to remain on parole, but these were shortly afterwards sent down to Calcutta and detained there on the ground that they had betrayed the confidence reposed in them. The large number of guns and the quantities of ammunition found in the Fort were of immense value to the English in their subsequent struggle with the Nawab to which the taking of Chandernagore was but the prelude. The loot is said to have been sold for £130,000.

One incident of the capture of Chandernagore has been vividly told by Edmund Ives, Surgeon on board Admiral Watson's flagship, the *Kent*. Serving on the ship was a midshipman whose name stands out with singularly personal vividness from the impersonal chronicle of events in those far off days, his tragic story handed down to all time in the narrative of his friend. Billy Speke, midshipman of the *Kent*, is one of the few boy heroes in the pages of Anglo-Indian annals. To-day he lies at rest beneath an enormous memorial slab in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. Fully six feet high, it bears the following inscription in large letters :—

"Here lies the body of William Speke, aged eighteen, son of Henry Speke, Esq., Captain of His Majesty's Ship *Kent*. He lost his leg and life in that ship at the capture of Fort Orleans, the 24th of March 1757."

It is curious, yet only typical of the carelessness of the day in such matters, that the inscription should be so misleading. Fort Orleans fell at 9-30 a.m. on the 23rd of March and the midshipman according to his friend, Edmund Ives, was only sixteen and moreover did not actually lose his life at the capture of Fort Orleans. He survived for just three weeks, dying in Calcutta on April the 13th following. The same shot that gave the boy his death blow struck his father also, but the latter's wounds

were not mortal. "When Admiral Watson had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant," runs the Surgeon's narrative, "he immediately went up to them and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The Captain, who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the Admiral, 'Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot to knock down both the father and the son.' Admiral Watson's heart was too full to make the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the Surgeon."

"The Captain," continues Ives' account, "was first brought down to me in the afterhold where a platform had been made and told me how dangerously poor Billy was wounded. Presently after the brave youth himself appeared but had another narrow escape, the quartermaster who was bringing him down in his arms after his father being killed by a cannon ball. On my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me if I had dressed his father, for he could not think of my touching him before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him that the Captain had been already properly attended to. 'Then', replied the generous youth pointing to a fellow-sufferer, 'pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man who is groaning so sadly beside me.' I told him that he already had been taken care of and begged of him with some importunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound: he submitted to it, and calmly observed, 'Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint.' I replied 'my dear, I must.' I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance."

When one remembers that surgical operations in those days were performed without the alleviation of anæsthetics,

one can only pay one's tribute of respect afar off to this brave lad of sixteen. On the following day both father and son were sent off with the rest of the wounded to Calcutta, the father being lodged at the house of William Mackett, his brother-in-law, the son, whose injuries were far more severe, being taken to the hospital. "For the first eight or nine days," writes Ives, "I gave the father great comfort by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy : and in the same manner I gratified the son in regard to the father. But alas ! from that time all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth began to disappear." On the evening before his death he became delirious and "at two o'clock in the morning," the narrative continues, "in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note, written by himself with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy :—" If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he is told he is dying and is left in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busy to honour this chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me the bearer waits an answer." Ives immediately visited him, but found him rapidly sinking, though he was able to cheer his last moments by reassuring him as to his father's state of health. "He begged my pardon," the narrative closes, "for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life."

The English having effectually demolished Chander-nagore fixed upon Ghyretty immediately to the south of it as one of their military outposts. The Proceedings of the 11th October 1762 note that Captain Green had built a "very good wholesome hospital" at Ghyretty, while the Proceedings of the 21st March 1763 state:—"Agreed and resolved that for the purpose of preserving the men in health and proper discipline, securing the frontier against the

irruptions of an enemy and maintaining the tranquility of the country, about one-half of the army shall be constantly kept at Patna. That the other half be cantoned at Ghyretty and furnish a guard of sixty Europeans weekly for the duty of the Presidency, to be relieved weekly, the number of the King's and Company's troops exclusive of the Midnapore detachment being at this time nearly equal. These views will be answered by keeping them at these two stations, each corps complete under their proper officers." Stavorinus writing in 1769 also mentions that at Ghyretty the English "have a Military Fort, where often one thousand men and sometimes more are encamped."

The treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the Seven Years' War, but it was not till 1765 that Chandernagore was restored to the French. Even then it was only on the strictest condition, the French engaging "not to erect fortifications or to keep troops in any part of the Subah of Bengal." A few guns were allowed for saluting purposes and permission to fly the French flag was granted. The settlement was at last under these conditions formally handed over by the English to John Law of Lauriston, Commandant of the French settlements in the East Indies, but politically its importance had departed, never to return. Never again was it to be a menace to English authority in Bengal.

The later story of Chandernagore, if less dramatic, is still full of interest. Monsieur Chevalier, who was Governor from 1769 to 1787, aspired to restore it to something of the former social brilliance to which it had attained in the days of Dupleix, but the English at Calcutta watched him with a jealous eye. They were quick to suspect his social ambitions as being but a cloak for political proclivities. Stavorinus relates how on one occasion Monsieur Chevalier, ostensibly to improve the sanitation of the town, ordered a deep ditch to be dug all round it, but the English hearing of it promptly demanded

an explanation. Monsieur Chevalier protested that it was merely a ditch to improve the drainage of the settlement, but the suspicions of the English were aroused and they sent an engineer to inspect it. His report stated that it was deeper than low water mark and therefore could not be meant for a drain. The French were therefore peremptorily ordered to fill it up again and an English engineer and 800 sepoys were sent from Calcutta to supervise the work.

Yet in spite of such incidents and recent hostilities there was considerable social intercourse between the two settlements. Monsieur Chevalier, doubtless realising that there was little outlet for political activities, endeavoured at least to make Chandernagore a centre of social life and fashion. On the ruins of Dupleix's palace at Ghyretty to the south of the main settlement he built a magnificent country seat which Grandpre, a visitor there in 1789, described as not only the finest house but the finest building in all India. "The front towards the garden is ornamented with a peristyle of the Ionic order after the Grecian manner," is his description of it, "the hall is spacious, the ceiling and cornice are painted by the hand of a master." All the rank and fashion of the day from Calcutta, from Serampore, from Chinsura and from Hooghly found entertainment there. Warren Hastings and Philip Francis, Barwell and Clavering all forgot for the moment their political and personal animosities and partook together of the famous hospitality of Monsieur Chevalier in his beautiful garden house. The river was an easy and pleasant means of access and many a green painted budgerow made its way up stream to Ghyretty carrying gay company on pleasure bent.

Of one of Monsieur Chevalier's parties at Ghyretty, Stavorinus gives a delightful account. It was an entertainment arranged in honour of the neighbouring Dutch Governor at Chinsura and the description of it throws an

interesting light on the customs of the day. The guests left Chinsura at the early hour of four in the morning, arriving at the French Governor's home at Ghyretty at six. There all the principal ladies and gentlemen of the French settlement were waiting to accord them a welcome. At seven o'clock a play was given in a summer house erected in the grounds. This lasted till ten o'clock whereupon the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner of one hundred and twenty covers. What happened afterwards Stavorinus leaves to the imagination.

It was doubtless during one of these visits of the officials of other nations that a meeting took place that was to have momentous consequences, not only for the immediate parties concerned, but for many another far beyond the limits of the little French settlement. The name of Catherine Noel Verlée, Madame Grand and later Princess Talleyrand, is perhaps the best known among all the many fair Anglo-Indians of a bygone day whose fame still lingers on the banks of the Hooghly, where once they quenced it. Her wonderful beauty has won for her a unique place in the annals of the social life of her day, not only in Chandernagore and in Calcutta in the freshness of her youth, but on the banks of the Seine in the gayest and most brilliant capital in Europe when long passed her prime. It was at Chandernagore that George Francis Grand, one of John Company's servants, first met her and it was here that he married her, a girl of fifteen in all the exquisite freshness of her marvellous beauty. Of her early days in the French settlement there is little to record. Born in the Danish settlement at Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast, she was the daughter of Pierre Verlée, a sea-faring Breton who had come out to India in his early youth, and who, before he had reached his twentieth year, had become a pilot in the French service on the Hooghly. His rise was rapid, and after holding the post of Master Pilot, he was made Capitane du Port and a Knight of the

Most Noble Order of St. Louis. One of his sons, Madame Grand's brother, was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and a grandson, her nephew, was later a Knight of Malta.

George Francis Grand had first come out to India in military employ, at the age of 17, in June, 1766, travelling in the *Lord Camden*, the same boat that brought out William Makepeace "Sylhet" Thackeray, and in which they were "accommodated with eleven writers, each with a standing bed in the great cabin." After becoming a Lieutenant, he was invalided home in 1773, but three years later he came out again and just ten years after his first arrival became a writer in the Company's service at Calcutta where, according to his own account, he "was received by Mr. Hastings with that affability and benevolence which were so characteristic in that great man and directly was taught to consider himself an inmate of the family." Grand in his "Narrative" gives an account of his meeting with his future wife at Chandernagore. "While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings," he writes, "I was in the habitude, with my friends, Majors Palmer and Gall, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week on the river. Our rendezvous generally was either at the lamented Mr. Croft's plantation of Sooksaugor in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty house, the residence of M. Chevalier, the Governor of the French Settlement of Chandernagore. At this gentleman's mansion there reigned the truest hospitality and gaiety. His admiration and personal friendship for Mr. Hastings insured the most welcome reception to those who were patronised by this excellent man. In one of those trips from the Presidency I formed an attachment to Miss Noel Catherine Verlée, the daughter of Monsieur Verlée, Capitane du port and Chevalier de St. Louis, a respectable old man whose services had deservedly merited this mark of distinction from his Sovereign. We were not long in expressing to each other our reciprocal inclinations

and our engagement in matrimonial alliance took place, which we agreed should be solemnised as soon as I could obtain a situation which might enable me to commence house keeping." Presumably the courtship was conducted in French, a witness at the famous trial eighteen months later being asked if Madame Grand spoke English replying "not generally—perhaps one word." Whether Madame Grand subsequently learned English is not known.

According to Grand's narrative it was owing to Mr. Barwell's assistance that he secured the post the emoluments of which enabled him to marry. Mr. Barwell "desirous to alleviate the sufferings of a young couple ardent to be united" obtained for him the appointment of "Secretary to the Salt Committee and Head Assistant and Examiner in the Secretary's Office, which situation produced an income of Rs. 1,300 a month." "The 10th July 1777 was fixed for the auspicious day," the narrative continues, "and, as Mademoiselle Verlée was of the Catholic persuasion, it became necessary for us to be married both in the Romish and the Protestant Church. To these we conformed. On the morning of that day, at 1 a.m. the Popish priest legalised our union in the Church at Chandernagore, and at eight the same morning at Hughely House where my old Benares friend, Thomas Motte, Esq., dwelt, the Rev. Dr. William Johnson, by special license from the Governor-General, pronounced, I had fondly hoped, our indissoluble tie in this world so long as our respective careers of life lasted."

Mademoiselle Verlée was four months short of 16 years of age at the time of her marriage, having been born on 21st November 1761. Of her marvellous beauty, which in the following year took Calcutta by storm, there is strangely enough no first hand account. To the wonder of it in her later years many an eye witness testifies, but the only descriptions of it in the heyday of its youth are from the pens of those who had not come personally under its

magic spell. "Madame Grand was at that time the most beautiful woman in Calcutta" writes Lady Francis who doubtless got the description direct from Sir Philip. "She was tall, most elegantly formed, the stature of a nymph, a complexion of unequalled delicacy and auburn hair of the most luxuriant profusion, fine blue eyes with black eyelashes and brows gave her countenance a most piquant singularity."

Yet from the first hand accounts of those who came in contact with her long after the first beauty of youth had fled, one can gauge something of its early charm. "Madame Grand" writes M. Colmache, Talleyrand's Secretary and by no means a prejudiced witness, "had the kind of beauty which is the rarest and most admired in Europe. She was tall and slight, with that languor in her carriage peculiar to Creole ladies, her eyes were well open, and affectionate, her features delicate, her golden hair playing in numberless curls, set off a forehead white as a lily. She had, moreover, preserved a child-like grace in her expression and throughout her whole person; it was this which distinguished her from those Parisian ladies who might, perhaps, rival her in beauty, and made her resemble rather Madame Recamier than Madame Tallien or Madame de Beauharnais." Madame de Remusat writes that "she was tall, and her figure had all the suppleness and grace so common to women born in the East. Her complexion was dazzling, her eyes of the brightest blue. Her fine golden hair was of proverbial beauty." These and many others were tributes to her beauty when well past middle age, from eye witnesses most of them by no means too friendly. It is small wonder that Grand succumbed to the spell of its first freshness in the days of her youth.

It was only for a brief period, however, that the happiness of the young couple lasted. On December 8th, 1788 occurred the incident that changed the whole course of Madame Grand's life. On that night, Grand tells us,

"I went out of my house about nine o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men, and between eleven and twelve o'clock returned the same night to it as miserable as any being could well feel." During his absence Philip Francis had been caught by his servants surreptitiously scaling a wall of his house to pay a clandestine visit to Madame Grand. Whether Francis had gone there unknown to Madame Grand and how far the couple were actually guilty is still a moot point, but Grand at once assumed the worst, and, Francis refusing his challenge to a duel on the following morning on the ground that he was conscious of having done him no injury, and that he laboured under a complete mistake, he brought an action against him in the Supreme Court claiming damages to the extravagant amount of fifteen hundred thousand sicca rupees. The trial commenced before the Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey and Justices Sir Robert Chambers and Hyde on the 1st of January 1779, and judgment was pronounced for Mr. Grand on March 6th, damages being awarded at 50,000 sicca rupees.

Immediately after the occurrence on the 8th of December, on the following morning, Grand sent for the sister and brother-in-law of Mrs. Grand from Chandernagore and apparently only once saw her again during a painful three hours' interview. Mrs. Grand went back to Chandernagore with her relatives and from that time onwards until her departure from India considerably later a veil of impenetrable mystery surrounds her. Conjecture has been rife, but actual evidence as to her movements or conduct in the months that followed the trial there is none. Francis is supposed to have visited her at Chandernagore and at Hooghly—various references in his diary being taken as referring to her, such as—"June 26th, 1779—at Chandernagore : ut vidi ut perii" and again on the following day "at Chandernagore, curious explanation with La Merliere, a ce qui me paraît on me demande, etc."

It has been presumed that Mrs. Grand lived under the protection of Francis during the remainder of her stay in India, but there is little or no evidence beyond the references in the latter's diary to bear out the supposition. If she did, Francis apparently conformed sufficiently to appearances not to take her to reside with him in Calcutta. His cousin, the redoubtable Major Baggs, the hero of eleven duels, had a house at Hooghly and it was here that he is supposed to have placed the lady of his affections in a pleasant river-side residence where he could conveniently visit her from Calcutta. Brief references to his visits to Hooghly are to be found in his diary, and, if he and Mrs. Grand were living together there, it would throw a curious side light on the social life of the day that he is able to record that even after the notoriety of the trial such distinguished and honoured members of Calcutta society as Sir Robert and Lady Chambers and Mr. Wheler consented to visit them there. In September, October and November 1779 the diary shows that Francis was constantly at "Hughely." On November 2nd he records, "At Hughely where I propose to stay as long as I can and visit Calcutta as seldom as I can," and again on 24th November occurs the last reference to Hooghly, followed by another of the many Latin sentences that are interspersed among the entries of these few months. "Return at night to Hughely; ferus et cupido semper ardentes acuens sagittas." "An elegant modern built house at Hughely, lately inhabited by Major Baggs, was advertised for sale in *Hickey's Gazette* in January 1780, Major Baggs having left India early that same month, ordered out of it by the Court of Directors. This may possibly have been the house in which Mrs. Grand resided, and the departure of his redoubtable cousin may have caused Francis to remove the lady of his affection for safer keeping to Calcutta. This, however, is merely a matter of conjecture, and in all fairness to the parties

concerned it must be emphasised that there is no actual evidence at all with regard to the relations between Philip Francis and Mrs. Grand subsequent to the famous trial. From the day when she left her husband's house to return to her relatives at Chandernagore in December 1788 until the day some two years later when she left India never to return, Mrs. Grand completely disappears from view. Her subsequent career, which lifted her out of the obscurity into which an unkind fate had cast her, to the brilliant eminence of her position at the French Court as Princess Talleyrand and Benevento is a story of romance that leads far from the little French Settlement on the banks of the Hooghly, where her wonderful beauty won for her its earliest triumphs.

The friendly relations between the English and French unhappily came to an end in 1778 on the outbreak of war in Europe. War was declared on the 18th of March, the news only reaching Calcutta *via* Suez on the 6th of July. The English, this time without opposition, took possession of the French Settlement, Colonel Alexander Dow being sent up with a small force to receive its submission. The Colonel, who apparently anticipated active opposition, recounts the story of his expedition in a letter dated "Guretty, 9 o'clock, 10th July 1778." At daybreak he invested the settlement of Chandernagore "in the most secret manner possible," having transported his troops across the river at two different places above and below the town. Unable to obtain information as to the whereabouts of M. Chevalier, the Governor, he at once proceeded to take possession of the Governor's garden house at Ghyretty with a company of Sepoys. On arrival there he was at first informed that M. Chevalier was in bed and would wait upon him immediately. Being kept waiting, however, the Colonel grew impatient and three times sent messages in writing to which the same reply was always sent that M. Chevalier would be with

him immediately. Growing suspicious at last the Colonel forced his way into the house where he was met by Madame Chevalier, who "requested, as her children were sick, that I would have further patience and that M. Chevalier, who was dressing, would come out." But, though the Colonel waited out of deference to Madame's request, M. Chevalier did not appear and just as he was about to search the bed chamber, Monsieur Hanquart "appeared in a *Star*" and assured him that M. Chevalier was not in the house nor in Chandernagore but that he himself was commandant of the garrison and "demanded for what I came in that hostile manner." The Colonel at once sent the news of M. Chevalier's escape to Hastings.

M. Hanquart, Colonel Dow relates, "after much altercation, has consented to deliver up the place on the terms you propose, which I stated to him; and I am now going with him from Ghyretty to put the troops in possession. I left a company of Sepoys and an officer here." Six or seven other gentlemen were there who had remained to cover M. Chevalier's flight and these were placed on parole. The Governor himself succeeded in getting safely away, but was eventually captured at Cuttack by Alexander Elliott, the young Civilian friend of Hastings. He and M. Samson, Chief of the French factory at Balasore, gave their parole to proceed to Calcutta on the 2nd of August 1778, and, on arrival there, they were kindly received by Hastings, who doubtless remembered the hospitality he had enjoyed at Ghyretty at M. Chevalier's hands. Shortly afterwards he granted M. Chevalier permission to return to France by a Danish ship *viâ* Suez, a course of action that was opposed by Francis as being too lenient. The latter urged that the Frenchman should be forced to proceed *viâ* the Cape, lest he should "make himself master of the navigation of the Red Sea and probably form some scheme at Cairo or Alexandria for

intercepting our packets coming or going through Egypt." But Warren Hastings, having granted M. Chevalier his passport by way of Suez "under the faith of the general licenses granted by the Board," refused to withdraw it, saying that the objection of Francis formed "a conclusion so foreign from any causes to which he could apply it that he would not attempt to refute it." M. Chevalier finally sailed in a Danish ship from Serampore, leaving the garden house at Ghyrctty on which he had lavished so much care and thought, in the hands of the English.

It was only for five years, however, that the English held Chandernagore, it being restored to France on the conclusion of peace in 1783. During a part of this time Sir Robert Chambers, Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, acted as Special Judge of Chinsura and Chandernagore having been appointed to that office in September, 1781, and it was while the French Settlement was in English hands that Philip Francis visited it and recorded the notes in his diary to which reference has already been made.

Further glimpses of affairs in the little French Settlement which had seen so many vicissitudes are obtained from time to time in the English annals at Calcutta. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th of October 1787 is described a serious riot at Chandernagore. The Governor, M. Dangereaux, ordered the arrest of the ringleaders, but the mob attacked the Governor's house demanding their release. The guard fired on the crowds but apparently with little effect, and the Governor had to send for help from the English troops at Barrackpore, a Battalion of Sepoys being despatched who quickly restored order.

On the 20th March 1788 the *Calcutta Gazette* announces "the French at Chandernagore with extreme caution rather than prudence have stopped any further advances

for their investment and some of the wealthy inhabitants have begun moving their most valuable effects to Serampore." Again on the 17th of September 1789 the *Calcutta Gazette* notifies that M. Montigny, the Governor of Chandernagore, has issued a proclamation prohibiting purchase or export of natives as slaves.

That same year the French revolution with its wide spreading consequences threw its shadow over the little French Settlement. It was not, however, until three years after the great upheaval in France that the miniature storm burst in its small dependency on the Hooghly. If a picturesque account given of the doings of the revolutionists in Chandernagore is to be believed it was a quaint reproduction of the greater event in the mother country. Led by a lawyer, the more turbulent spirits, apparently with no grievances to vent but stirred only by the news of events occurring in France, rose against constituted authority in 1792. The Sepoys sided with the mob and the Governor, alarmed at the storm, fled with a few other French families to his garden house at Ghyretty, much as his master had fled from Paris to Versailles. Hurriedly fortifying Ghyretty as best he could, he awaited the course of events. The mob meanwhile plundered the town, burned the records and made merry on the wines found in the cellars of the Governor's house. Fearful, however, of the consequences that might overtake them, they enlisted from the country round a rabble of three hundred men whom they proceeded to train as soldiers and dress up in hastily made uniforms from the red cloth plundered from the royal stores. With the help of this pantomime army they hurriedly threw up entrenchments and manned them with a few cannon purchased from a trading ship. News reaching them of Louis XVI having been taken in triumph from Versailles to Paris they hastened to follow suit and seizing their Governor at Ghyretty they brought him in mock state to Chandernagore

where they shut him up in a dungeon with all the officers of the garrison who had remained loyal.

These wild doings naturally occasioned considerable alarm in the neighbouring towns of Chinsura and Hooghly and even in Calcutta further away. Lord Cornwallis fearing for the life of M. Montigny sent to demand that he should be released, a demand which only served still further to inflame the revolutionists who sent back a defiant message that sooner than release him they would guillotine him, and that they would defend their miniature republic to the last. More sober counsels, however, soon prevailed, and it was resolved to send the Governor and his fellow royalists in chains to the Isle de France. But, news of their design reaching Calcutta, the ship on which they had been placed was stopped on its way down the Hooghly and the prisoners released. Confusion meanwhile continued to reign in the little French Settlement. The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 18th of October 1792 records that :—"Monsieur Fumeron, some time ago appointed Chief of Chandernagore by the Government of Pondicherry, has been trying in vain, for many months past, to take possession of his Government, but the popular Chiefs of Chandernagore have uniformly resisted his authority, and even denied him admission in their Settlement. Thus situated, M. Fumeron has resided in Calcutta since his arrival in Bengal, but at length, seeing no hope of a change in the sentiments of those over whom he was intended to preside, he has left Calcutta, and embarked on board *La Fidele* for Pondicherry, which sailed from hence a few days ago."

War was finally declared between England and France on the 8th of February 1793, and, on the news reaching Calcutta in the following June, British troops once more quietly occupied Chandernagore, meeting with no resistance save from a single sentry who wounded an English soldier in the head with a bayonet, himself being immediately

transfixed by a similar weapon. On the 20th of June the Governor-General in Council appointed Mr. Richard Birch to be Superintendent Judge and Magistrate of Chandernagore, and Mr. De Bretel to be Deputy to the Superintendent. Apparently all the property of the French Government was immediately taken over and sold without delay within a few days of the occupation. Everything that could be disposed of, including the State palanquin, was advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* for sale at the Chandernagore arsenal.

Restored by the treaty of Amiens in 1802 it was again seized a few months later on the resumption of hostilities, and for twenty-two years with this small break the English occupation lasted to the peace and contentment of its inhabitants. In the year immediately preceding the occupation it is said to have "swarmed with cheats, swindlers, receivers of stolen goods and fraudulent pawn-brokers." It was a convenient spot, this little strip of land over which the British flag did not fly and where the long arm of the British *Raj* did not reach, save through formal and tedious processes of extradition. But with the appointment of British Officers from Calcutta these things soon ceased. Under British rule the trade and commerce of the little Settlement flourished, none was molested and the conclusion of peace found Chandernagore in greater prosperity than it had been for many years. On the 4th December 1816 Mr. Gordon and Colonel Loveday, on behalf of the British Government, solemnly delivered over the Settlement to the Commissioners appointed to receive it on behalf of Louis XVIII, King of France. After the official ceremony, the representatives of the two nations partook of a banquet together where the health of the Kings of England and France and of the Governor-General of India were drunk with great cordiality. So Chandernagore once more returned to its first owners and has ever since remained a French possession, the only one of the numerous

original Settlements along the banks of the Hooghly, Portuguese, Dutch, Prussian or Danish over which the British flag does not fly to-day.

Socially it was many years before it recovered anything of its former glory. Bishop Heber, who visited it in 1823, seven years after it had been finally restored, wrote that "the streets presented a remarkable picture of solitude and desolation, no boats loading or unloading at the quay, no porters with burdens in the streets, no carts, no market people and in fact only a small native bazaar and a few dismal looking European shops." But in the years that followed its prosperity revived and it once more became a favourite resort of holiday makers from Calcutta by road and river. Living was considerably cheaper there than in Calcutta, rents and taxes being far lower, which, with the advent of the railway bringing it within easy reach of the rapidly growing English settlement further down the river, induced many to reside there. Others less desirable, who for various reasons no longer felt attracted by further residence within reach of British law, also congregated there and for many years it formed a notorious resort for shady characters of all nationalities. In recent years conditions have greatly improved and Chandernagore now forms a pleasant little river-side town singularly clean and well kept for an Indian mofussil station and with something curiously French about it beneath its eastern garb. Since 1816, Chandernagore has for a century lived its life unruffled by the storms and vicissitudes that beset its earlier years. The political changes that have taken place in France have affected it little, the representative of the Legitimate Kings being succeeded by the Orleanists and they in turn by Imperialists and Republicans without unduly stirring the little dependency from the even tenour of its way. To-day an Administrator and a little company of officials with a small police force rule the four square miles in the name of France, the tricolour proudly

proclaiming its solitary independence. Between three and four miles in length it stretches along the river bank, a portion of it forming a charming boulevard, the Quai Dupleix with its broad promenade back by the Administrator's House, the Convent, the Jail and its three hotels, while in an opening a little back from the road stands the Church of St. Louis, a fine structure erected in 1726. Behind this promenade on the river bank and running parallel with it is the Rue Martin named in honour of General Claude Martin who left fifty thousand rupees the interest of which was to be given yearly to the poor of the town. A tablet in the Church of St. Louis commemorates this legacy. In the Rue Martin stands the College named after Chandernagore's greatest citizen, Dupleix, a bust of whom stands in the public gardens to the south of the Church.

Of the three and seven-eighth square miles (2,359 acres) only about seven bighas belong to the French in full sovereignty. For the remainder the French Government pays revenue to the British Government through the Collector of Hooghly. The question as to whether the French Government had independent jurisdiction over the portion that paid revenue furnished one of the few interesting political events in the history of Chandernagore since 1816. The claim of the French to exclusive jurisdiction over the whole land for which they paid revenue was after much correspondence eventually allowed by the British Government in 1845. So the little Settlement still remains a part of France and French law and custom hold sway. French is the official language of the Courts and the Grand Trunk Road for its brief passage over foreign soil becomes the Route de Benares. For foreign postage it has its own issue of postage stamps though for convenience of Indian postage the use of ordinary Indian stamps is also allowed. The guillotine is still used for capital punishment though Chandernagore does not possess a guillotine of its own,

the instrument having to be brought from Pondicherry when required. It was last used in 1895 in the case of a notorious murderer who created something of a sensation by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith on the eve of his execution.

One and a half miles to the south of Chandernagore at Ghyretty lies a little plot of land one hundred and twenty bighas in extent, which still remains French soil. At the northern end of it, close by the river bank, once stood the famous garden house of the old French Governors, of Dupleix and Chevalier, the finest house in India, as Stavorinus calls it. All that remains of it now is a portion of the great gateway crumbling and decayed, yet redolent of the memories of its great days when all that was most brilliant and most famous in the social and political life of the time passed through its portals on pleasure or on duty bent.

F. B. BRADLEY BIRT.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A GUIDE TO TAXILA.—By Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Litt. D, F.S.A., etc. Pp. VIII + 124.

The Director-General of Archaeology is to be heartily congratulated on the publication of the above book which is a companion volume to his guide to Sanchi. Though modestly called "a Guide" the treatise has many features which would elevate it to the rank of a delightful scientific monograph. Taxila excavation might be called the magnum opus of Sir John in the department of scientific exploration of the historic sites of Ancient India. Since the year 1912-13 he has been publishing the results of his work in his Annual Reports. But the reports are not readily accessible and the style of presentation of archaeological data is rather technical. Hence a vast majority of ordinary students of Indology would hail this cheap non-technical volume with delight.

The major portion of the book is naturally devoted to a detailed description of the excavation work in different sites and of the interesting archaeological finds. Here Sir John is in his own element and his presentation is at once lucid and illuminating. In his chapter on "Art," however, he generalises, rather sweepingly, on the evolution of the Græco-Buddhist Art. The problem is so controversial and our data so insufficient that it would have been better to leave it an open question for the present.

K. D. N.

SACRIFICE AND OTHER PLAYS.—By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. (Macmillan Co.)

The four plays which make up this volume contain some very strong writing and their construction is characteristic of much of Sir Rabindranath's dramatic work. In every case the plot ends in a tragedy, but the ending is unexpected and, at first sight at least, is no solution of the problem of the play. Further reflection, however, and closer study reveal a symbolical and mystical meaning which does as a rule fit into the main idea of the play. We do not think,

however, that the artistic character of the plays would have suffered in the very least, if less reliance had been placed on the device of the unexpected and if the author had given more assistance towards the interpretation of the true meaning of the play. As things stand, the reader is left facing several different interpretations and he has not the satisfaction and benefit of knowing that he has caught the true intention of the writer. The play which gives its name to the book is not perhaps the most successful of the four. It is dedicated to "those heroes who bravely stood for peace when human sacrifice was claimed for the goddess of war," and, throughout the description of a struggle between the devotees of Kali, the blood-thirsty goddess, and the exponents of a milder faith, there are many side-reflections on the meaninglessness of war and upon the iniquity of it as it is conceived by those who force it upon the world. Kālī is the symbol of the doctrine of ruthless force, who asserts that one thing is true—the lust for destruction. Her doubting worshippers appeal to her not to set brother against brother, to be content with gentler worship—seeing that "those who are weak in this world are so helpless and those who are strong are so cruel." But the king who tries to reform the worship has little hope of rapid success, for, he says, "a man loses his humanity when it concerns his gods." One main idea of the play seems also to be that the popular gods are a hindrance to religion and to unity "Let us be fearlessly godless and come closer to one another." A very fine passage depicts the struggle in the mind of Jaising, the temple servant, between the habit of implicit obedience to religious authority and the new ideas crowding into his mind.

Malini is probably the finest of the four plays. It also depicts the struggle between the old and the new. The mob are disturbed by the Buddhistic tendencies of the King's daughter and demand her banishment. But when she comes to reason with them, they remain to worship. The bigoted adherent of the old faith is vigorous and unyielding, and it is characteristic of his somewhat narrow mind that he should brand as a treachery to the old any progress towards the new. The *Sanyasi* is a beautiful expression of the idea that mere negation can never satisfy a man's soul. After long years of religious asceticism the *Sanyasi* thinks that he has reached the highest, that stage at which all the things of the world appear to him as nothingness. But into his life there comes the love of a little outcast girl.

He realises that there is a higher stage than that of nothingness. He becomes "free from the bodiless chain of the Nay . . . free among things and forms and purposes. The finite is the true infinite and love knows its truth." It is a powerful and touching play, and the more one ponders over it, the more its beauty becomes apparent.

THE PROMISE OF AIR.*—By Algernon Blackwood.
(Macmillan's Empire Library.)

This is not a book upon aeroplanes, as the title might suggest, neither does it deal with mysterious re-incarnations as a previous acquaintance with Mr. Blackwood's work might lead us to expect. It is a parable of a new age of which air is to be the symbolic element. The characters in the parable are a middle-class family, of which the daughter is the incarnation of the new idea, the father, wholly in sympathy, tries to put into words what his daughter expresses through dancing. The mother had the lightness of the air—feeling in her youth, but has lost it in her heavy middle age. She shows signs of regeneration towards the end of the book; the son is wholly Philistine and unregenerate.

The quality of air which fits it for symbolism is that it is everywhere at once. It is a whole in every part. In other elements we move patiently and laboriously along a straight line and are confined in every movement. In air we know everything at once, as the birds know when the icebergs are melting in the north and take their flight accordingly. It is this wonderful instinct of the birds which we ought to recover for humanity, this instinct which unites them and is conscious of happenings at the other side of the world. Being is constant movement. Thought is photographic and stops the movement which is life. "Words are parvenu things," says Mr. Wimble, the father, in the course of one of his aerial speculations. The cinematograph in this book becomes a lesson in metaphysics. It faintly expresses forth the altogetherness in which things really are. It enables you to be everywhere at once, and it is at least an attempt to seize the movement of the world. The effect on Wimble and his daughter is to help them to find their wings; they begin to live the thoughts and experiences of all times and places. But the effect on mother is to make her "glad she is English." She is the badger in the hole, with feet firmly planted on

the ground, a creature of the earth. Her husband and her daughter are as like the birds as they can be without ceasing to be human. The idea of the book is that in the next age we shall all acquire the bird-consciousness and the bird instincts. At the present time we ought to be as like them as possible, in their unity, their instinct, the unceasingness and beauty of their movement. Perhaps the reading of Mr. Blackwood's book will help, if one perseveres with it to the end. It might have been shorter with advantage. The main idea is repeated over and over again, and if we do not understand it, it is not for want of effort on the part of the writer. At the same time the book has passages of great beauty. Occasionally it manifests the spirit of genuine mysticism and it is expressive of much that is valuable in modern philosophy. Mr. Blackwood has at least heard of M. Bergson. If the latter ever took to the writing of allegorical novels, he might conceivably write a novel like this.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS.— July 1918.

In the Indian Journal of Economics for July, Professor Gilbert Slater of Madras discourses on certain problems which interest him on the economic life of Southern India. One relates to the poverty of the Indian ryot. He has no sympathy for the suggestion that the extension of the Permanent Settlement would improve matters and then most economists would be with him. Poverty is not the result of the pressure of land revenue. Dr. Slater thinks the people themselves should be stimulated to think about their economic condition and form their own plans for improving their status. In his investigations he has been comparing the ryot in this country with the agricultural labourer in the United Kingdom. Many circumstances vitiate a fair comparison, but he suggests that the produce of an English agricultural labourer's day's work is about ten times as great as that of an Indian. He seems satisfied, carrying still further this somewhat unprofitable inquiry and guess work, that one Lancashire weaver is worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in the Madras mills and that the English navvy is to the corresponding worker employed by the Madras Corporation in somewhat the same proportion.

In another part of the Journal appears a most interesting article by the Hon'ble Mr. Keatinge, Director of

Agriculture in the Bombay Presidency, on the size of land holdings in the Bombay Presidency. This is the reprint of a paper put before the Conference of the Board of Agriculture held in Poona in December of last year. In the survey of a Deccan village made by Dr. Mann and his assistants one of the most depressing facts revealed was the great fragmentation of holdings on the village. This evil combined with the other akin to it of the subdivision of holdings, forms the subject of Mr. Keatinge's paper. He not only points out the inevitable and unfortunate consequences of these evils but also suggests how conditions may be improved. Subdivision and fragmentation of holdings are not known only in India. They have had to be dealt with in other lands where by the laws of inheritance on the death of a father the land is distributed amongst his children. Legislation on this matter in other lands has been drastic, but Mr. Keatinge, in deference to Hindu sentiment, does not favour drastic legislation at present in India. He has, however, drawn up a Bill, permissive on nature, whereby a landholder may evade the law of inheritance in order to be able to constitute economic holdings. The difficulty, of course, just is that the present law makes holdings uneconomic and if this is recognised, as it is, surely something more courageous could be done. Then the putting forward of a Bill which opens a door indeed, but which does nothing to create the will to enter by the door. The work of legislation is admittedly difficult, for Hindu lawyers would almost certainly oppose a Bill into which the element of compulsion was introduced. But surely in such a matter the evils are patent enough to all to disarm the criticism of the Government being Greeks with gifts.

The rest of the Journal contains articles by Professor Jevons, the Editor, Mr. Molony, the Commissioner of Agra and Professor Venkâteswara and the other usual features. This number forms the second part of the second volume. The Journal still shamelessly proclaims on its title page that it is issued quarterly.

PERIODICALS.

QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July 1918.

This number seems hardly up to the usual level of excellence, but it contains some interesting articles. The opening article, on "the Psalter: Its contents and Date"

takes us far from the rushing events of the present time to the consideration of religious aspirations which belong to all time. Mr. Montifiore, the writer of the article, will hardly allow that any of the Psalms were written by David himself, but he refuses to agree with the opinion of Wellhausen and others which held the field some years ago and was definitely opposed to any pre-exilic date. A poignantly impressive article by a conscientious objector, Mr. Stephen Hobhouse, on "An English Prison from Within" makes one more aware than ever of the wastage caused by war. One wonders whether some other method could not have been found of dealing with men of intellect and culture whose courage is undoubted and whose sincerity is above suspicion. It seems a strange use of the nation's assets that these men should be immured for months on end within prison walls, and subjected to all the indignities of the prisoner's lot. But some advantage may be gained if through their ability to write of their experience, attention is drawn to the effect upon the ordinary criminal of the system of solitary confinement and "silent association," i.e., the working or exercising in company without permission to exchange a single word. An article on "German Propagandist Societies" shows the extraordinary perfection of organisation in disseminating German ideas. An article on the "Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" sets before us some vivid pictures of a forgotten period of history, and in "The ideals and Aspirations of Italy" Mr. Horatio Brown draws an interesting comparison between the Italian personification of "Italia" and our attitude to "Britannia" and "John Bull." We do not personify. In the conception of "John Bull" we are half laughing at ourselves. "Britannia" is stage property and has little to do with the emotional bond between the country and her sons. "We have an inborn distrust of any demonstration but fact." We do not form a definite picture of ourselves. We are naturally unself-conscious, and, somehow, the results are good.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.--July 1918.

There are two informative articles on Eastern political questions in this number, one dealing with Serbia's place in history under the title of "The Cinderella of the Nations," and the other with "The Changed Situation in the East" as a result of recent events. In the former Professor

Lofthouse makes a strong plea for Serbia, not only in view of what she has done and sacrificed in this present war, but still more because of her heroic struggles for freedom, continued throughout many centuries, against the oppression alike of Austrian, Hungarian and Turk. In the latter St. Nihal Singh attempts to show how Russia's collapse has opened the way for the German to the Middle and Far East and in particular to India, their final objective, as the German Press openly declares. He urges larger use of Chinese and Japanese resources and men, and of Indian man-power and material, and pleads for the entire abolition of the official distinction between "martial" and "non-martial" classes in India.

Principal Garvie writes on "The Catholic Church of the Future." He does not look on one Christian Church as a world-wide organisation as an immediate possibility, but he believes that intercommunion and exchange of pulpits are two plain essentials towards which we have to work if the unity of the Church is in any real sense to be visible. To neither of these does Principal Garvie see any insuperable objection in principle: it is only by a misunderstanding of it that the non-conformist view of the Sacraments can be thought to be different from what is valuable in the Catholic view: and, as regards the ministry, Principal Garvie is willing to accept a democratised form of Episcopacy as a means to unity, although he does not believe that union will ever be possible if re-ordination is demanded of those who are not episcopally ordained.

A short article of special interest to Bengal is that entitled "A Poet of the People" by E. J. Thompson. It sketches the life and characteristics of Ramprasad, the poet of the 18th century, whose songs have become a common possession of the people of Bengal. Other articles are on "Divine Providence" by Edward Grubb, and on "The Early Church and Economic Questions" by J. A. Faulkner: and there is also an interesting personal appreciation of the late James Hope Moulton by an intimate friend.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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